

An Early Shī'i Cosmology

Kitāb al-ashbāḥ wa l-aẓilla and its Milieu

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Introduction

One of the chief theological controversies in the Shī'i community of Iraq in the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries revolved around the nature of the Imams. Part of their followers viewed them as knowledgeable leaders of the community, while another attributed to them divine characteristics, viewing them at times as God's appointees charged with the mission to regulate the affairs of the world, and at times as God's incarnations on earth.¹ By the outsiders, these ardent followers of the Imams were called with the Arabic term *ghulāt* (pl. of *ghālin*) i.e. "extremist," for their "extreme" devotion to the Imams.

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1 On this controversy, see Hossein Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation in the Formative Period of Shi'ite Islam*, Princeton, Darwin Press, 1993, pp. 19-51; William F. Tucker, *Mahdis and Millenarians: Shi'ite Extremists in Early Muslim Iraq*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008; Marshall Hodgson, "How Did the Early Shī'a Become Sectarian?" *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 75.1 (1955), pp. 4-10; id., "Ghulat," *EI*2, vol. 2, p. 1093; Mushegh Asatryan, "*Kitāb al-aẓilla*, Nuṣayrī Literature, and the Transmission of Texts from Iraq to Syria in the Tenth Century," in *Texts in Transit in the pre-Modern Eastern Mediterranean*, eds. Tzvi Langermann and Robert Morrison (forthcoming); on the views of the "moderate" camp of Shī'is, who considered the Imams as mere humans, see Tamima Bayhom-Daou, "The Imam's Knowledge and the Quran according to al-Faḍl b. Shādhān al-Nisābūrī (d. 260 AH/854 AD)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 64.2 (2001), pp. 188-207; for an analysis of the idea of the Imams' divinity among early Shī'is, see Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, "Remarques sur la divinité de l'imam," in *La religion discrète: croyances et pratiques spirituelles dans l'islam shi'ite*, Paris, Vrin, 2006, pp. 89-108; translated into English as "Some Remarks on the Divinity of the Imam," in *The Spirituality of Shi'i Islam* London, New York, I. B. Tauris, 2011, pp. 103-32.

Among the teachings of these “extremists,” which so enraged later heresiographers, were the belief in reincarnation, transformation into non-human forms, and the ability of a believer to become close to God.

While the Imams themselves were mostly uneasy to accept the allegiance of these ardent adherents,² they still had many followers among them, and throughout the second/eighth century, the *ghulāt* freely mixed with their opponents, whom they derisively called “shortcomers” (*muqaṣṣira*)—for falling short in their devotion to the Imams. In the third/ninth century, however, the tensions began to exacerbate, and the *muqaṣṣira*, who were beginning to crystallize into a Shī‘i (Imāmī) orthodoxy, succeeded in demonizing and marginalizing the “extremists.”³ Eventually, early in the fourth/tenth century, one branch of the *ghulāt*, called Nuṣayrīs after one of their leaders Muḥammad b. Nuṣayr (d. after 254/868), left Iraq and established their center in a more tolerant north Syria.⁴

While in Iraq, the *ghulāt* produced religious literature, most of which is now lost. A few of their works have survived due to the efforts of Nuṣayrīs, who transported some of them to Syria. Several of the original extant *ghulāt* treatises have been preserved in the collections of the Syrian Ismailis, who took over the main Nuṣayrī strongholds in the sixth/twelfth century, taking possession of their writings as well.⁵ Besides, many *ghulāt* texts have survived fragmentarily, quoted in the writings of the Nuṣayrīs, and many, though perished, are known by their names—listed in Nuṣayrī books and Twelver Shī‘i biographical dictionaries.⁶

For most of the twentieth century, the study of the *ghulāt* worldview was chiefly based on outsider accounts—*rijāl* works, heresiographies, and a few historical chronicles. Because of their polemical nature, it has always been a matter of debate whether, or to what degree, such accounts reflect the truth

2 Cf. ‘Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī, *al-Farq bayn al-firaq*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, Beirut, n.d., pp. 247; Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Ismā‘īl al-Ash‘arī, *Maqālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, ed. Hellmut Ritter, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner, 1980, pp. 10–11.

3 Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation*, pp. 29–49.

4 Asatryan, “*Kitāb al-aẓilla*, Nuṣayrī Literature”; Yaron Friedman, *The Nuṣayrī-‘Alawīs: An Introduction to the Religion, History and Identity of the Leading Minority in Syria*, Leiden, Brill, 2010, pp. 23 ff; Bruno Paoli, “La diffusion de la doctrine nusayrie au iv^e/x^e siècle d’après le *Kitāb Ḥayr al-ṣanī’a* du cheikh Ḥusayn Mayhūb Ḥarfūš,” *Arabica* 58 (2011), pp. 25 ff.

5 Nasseh Mirza, *Syrian Ismailism: the Ever Living Line of the Imamate*, Richmond, Curzon, 1997, p. 14.

6 For a discussion of this process, and for a partial list of titles, see Asatryan, “*Kitāb al-aẓilla*, Nuṣayrī Literature”; cf. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, Beirut, 2010, pp. 367, 594, 322, 151; Ibn al-Ghaḍā‘irī, *Rijāl*, ed. Muḥammad Riḍā al-Jalālī, Qum, 2002, p. 56, p. 92.

about the religious ideas of the *ghulāt*.⁷ The publication of *Umm al-Kitāb* in 1936, followed thirty five years later by *Kitāb al-haft wa l-aẓilla*,⁸ provided first-hand accounts of their beliefs, but because of their confused dates and authorships, a historical contextualization of the two works has been a daunting task and subject to much speculation.⁹

The publication of *Kitāb al-ṣirāṭ* in 1995 added to the available corpus of *ghulāt* writings,¹⁰ but a real breakthrough in understanding the heritage of the *ghulāt* came after the publication of a collection of hitherto mostly unknown Nuṣayrī texts under the title *Silsilat al-turāth al-'alawī*, which began in 2006, and the last, eleventh volume of which was published in 2013. Apart from shedding new light on the evolution of Nuṣayrī literature, the *Silsila* is an invaluable resource for understanding the history of the *ghulāt* literature since, aside from the several previously unpublished *ghulāt* texts, it is replete with quotations from original *ghulāt* writings.¹¹ The texts and fragments found in the *Silsila* allow for a fuller reconstruction of the *ghulāt* cosmos, but also for a better understanding of the history of their literature; they also afford a

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- 7 Ron Buckley, "The Early Shiite *Ghulāh*," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 42.2 (1997), pp. 301-13; Heinz Halm, *Die Islamische Gnosis*, Zürich and Munich, Artemis Verlag, 1982, pp. 27-31; Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, "Savoir c'est pouvoir: exégèses et implications du miracle dans l'Imamisme ancien," in *Miracle et Karama*, ed. Denise Aigle, Turnhout, Brepols, 2000, p. 268; Tamima Bayhom-Daou, "The Second Century Shī'ite *Ġulāt*: Were they Really Gnostic?" *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 5 (2003-04), pp. 13-61.
 - 8 Wladimir Ivanow (ed.), "Ummu'l-kitāb," *Islam* 23 (1936), pp. 1-132; Arif Tamir and Ignace Khalifé (eds.), *Kitāb al-haft wa l-aẓilla*, Beirut, 1960.
 - 9 For the latest discussion of *Umm al-kitāb* and its date, see Sean Anthony, "The Legend of 'Abdallāh ibn Saba' and the Date of *Umm al-Kitāb*," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 3.21.1 (2011), p. 18; see also Halm, *Die Islamische Gnosis*, pp. 113-98; *Kitāb al-haft* has been extensively studied by Halm in his "Das 'Buch der Schatten,'" *Der Islam* 55 (1978), pp. 219-66 and 58 (1981), pp. 16-86; cf. also Hossein Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival: A Bibliographical Survey of Early Shī'ite Literature*, Oxford, Oneworld, 2003, p. 335; most recently, see Mushegh Asatryan, *Heresy and Rationalism in Early Islam: the Origins and Evolution of the Mufaḍḍal-tradition* (PhD Dissertation, Yale University, 2012), pp. 140-241.
 - 10 Leonardo Capezzone, "Il Kitāb al-ṣirāṭ attribuito a Mufaḍḍal ibn 'Umar al-Ju'fi," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 69 (1995), pp. 295-416; it was edited, from the same manuscript, by al-Munṣif b. 'Abd al-Jalil as *Kitāb al-ṣirāṭ*, Beirut, 2004; Abū Mūsā and Shaykh Mūsā included it in their *Al-majmū'a l-mufaḍḍaliyya*, *Silsilat al-turāth al-'alawī*, vol. 6, n.p., Lebanon, 2006, pp. 95-166; without identifying the source of their text; on *Kitāb al-ṣirāṭ*, see Friedman, *The Nuṣayrī-'Alawīs*, pp. 244-5; Asatryan, *Heresy and Rationalism*, pp. 63-139.
 - 11 For a description of this collection, see Bella Tendler, *Concealment and Revelation: A Study of Secrecy and Initiation among the Nuṣayrī-'Alawīs of Syria* (PhD Dissertation, Princeton University, 2012), pp. 4-5, and Friedman, *The Nuṣayrī-'Alawīs*, pp. 2-3.

better understanding of the origins and histories of works such as *Kitāb al-haft* and *Umm al-kitāb* by offering philological solutions to some of their textual problems and by allowing to place them in a broader historical context.

One of the richest repositories of such fragments, late fourth/tenth c. Nuṣayrī author Ḥasan b. Shu‘ba al-Ḥarrānī’s *Ḥaqqā’iq asrār al-dīn*, together with the work of his near contemporary Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Jillī’s *Ḥāwī l-asrār*, contain excerpts from a certain *Kitāb al-ashbāḥ wa l-aẓilla* (henceforth, KAA).¹² The nearly three pages of the printed text resonate with the previously published *ghulāt* writings and with some of the other excerpts found in the *Silsila*, appearing to be an original work by Shī‘i “extremists.” Thanks to the two manuscripts of what appears to be the complete text of *Kitāb al-ashbāḥ wa l-aẓilla*, in the collection of the Institute of Ismaili Studies, this text is now available in its entirety. It is a *ghulāt* treatise about God’s creation of the world, the nature of believers, unbelievers, and their relation to the Creator. Its content and terminology allow us to place it in the same category with works such as *Kitāb al-ṣirāt*, and to view it as an original work written by the *ghulāt* of the second/eighth-third/ninth centuries. As such, *Kitāb al-ashbāḥ wa l-aẓilla* is valuable for two reasons. It firstly allows us to complement what we already know of the teachings of the *ghulāt*. Secondly, it provides philological clues to a better understanding of the already known *ghulāt* texts, namely, *Kitāb al-haft wa l-aẓilla*, because one of the latter’s chapters appears to be an anonymous quotation from this work. What follows, then, is a study of the environment in which *Kitāb al-ashbāḥ wa l-aẓilla* was composed, followed by a critical edition and English translation of the treatise.

Kitāb al-ashbāḥ wa l-aẓilla and Early Shī‘i Thought

The title of *Kitāb al-ashbāḥ wa l-aẓilla* is identified in both manuscripts and in the passage quoted by Ḥasan b. Shu‘ba al-Ḥarrānī and Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Jillī. Its occurrence in the work of the two Nuṣayrī authors means that it was written before the second half of the fourth/tenth century; this adds little to our knowledge of its date since, for reasons outlined below, it may have been composed during the preceding two centuries. A direct reference to a *Kitāb al-ashbāḥ wa l-aẓilla* is found in Shaykh Mufid’s *al-Masā’il al-sarawīyya*, who notes that it is attributed to famous “extremist” Muḥammad b. Sinān (d. 220/835).¹³ To what degree this is our KAA is unclear, all the more so that al-Najāshī attributes a

¹² For references, see below.

¹³ Ed. Ṣā‘ib ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, n.p., 1413/1993, p. 38.

work with a similar yet distinct title of *Kitāb al-aẓilla* to the same author, and both titles could refer to the same text.¹⁴ A large fragment of KAA is quoted anonymously in the aforementioned *Kitāb al-haft*,¹⁵ which in itself is very difficult to date with precision.¹⁶ (The earliest mention of *Kitāb al-haft* is found in Muḥammad b. Nuṣayr's *Kitāb al-mithāl wa l-ṣūra*, who died after 868,¹⁷ suggesting a terminus ante quem.) Another possible clue as to the dating of the text is that in both manuscripts it is narrated on the authority of a certain Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far¹⁸ (both al-Ḥarrānī and al-Jillī are silent on its authorship). While one Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far b. Maḥmūd al-Anṣārī al-Madanī is mentioned among the contemporaries of the sixth Imam Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/165),¹⁹ it is not at all certain that he is the same person, or that the attribution is not spurious.

Two Nuṣayrī authors mention KAA as narrated on the authority of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq by Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Ju'fī, the alleged author of some of the best-known surviving *ghulāt* works. One is a short dialogue (not found in our text) between Mufaḍḍal and the Imam about why believers are called believers, quoted by al-Ḥarrānī's younger relative Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Shu'ba al-Ḥarrānī. The other is a passage in the work of Maymūn b. Qāsim al-Ṭabarānī (d. 426/1034-35), who mentions a certain "*Kitāb al-ashbah wa l-aẓilla* narrated on the authority of Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar," without, however, quoting from it.²⁰ If these last two mentions are not from a different text with an identical title, they indicate that there was an alternative version of KAA which was framed as a dialogue between the sixth Imam and Mufaḍḍal. This would not, however, make the attribution of KAA any easier, since the *ghulāt* had an entire tradition of attributing writings of similar content to Mufaḍḍal al-Ju'fī, and framing them as dialogues between him and the Imam.²¹

14 See below.

15 A smaller fragment of KAA (par. 4) is quoted as a passage from *Kitāb al-haft* in Ḥasan b. Shu'ba's *Ḥaqā'iq*, p. 17.

16 For a discussion of this work, see above.

17 Yaron Friedman, "Moḥammad b. Nuṣayr," *Elr* (online edition); on the authenticity and dating of this work, see Asatryan, "*Kitāb al-aẓilla*, Nuṣayrī Literature."

18 Cf. Vladimir Ivanow, *A Guide to Ismaili Literature*, p. 77.

19 'Ināyat Allāh b. 'Alī al-Quhpā'ī, *Majma' al-rijāl*, ed. Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-'Allāma, Isfahan, 1964-68, vol. 1, p. 40.

20 Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Shu'ba al-Ḥarrānī, *Risālat ikhtilāf al-'ālamayn*, Silsilat al-turāth al-'alawī, vol. 4, p. 300; Maymūn b. Qāsim al-Ṭabarānī; *Kitāb al-dalā'il fi l-masā'il*, Silsilat al-turāth al-'alawī, vol. 3, ed. Abū Mūsā and Shaykh Mūsā, n.d., Lebanon, 2006, p. 176.

21 Asatryan, *Heresy and Rationalism*; Ḥasan b. Shu'ba al-Ḥarrānī quotes a fragment which almost verbatim corresponds to pars. 1 and 2 of our critical edition, see *Ḥaqā'iq asrār*

Despite the lack of direct textual indicators as to the authorship and dating of KAA, it is possible to situate the work in a broader historical framework by viewing it in the context of early *ghulāt* theology and cosmology. To this end, I will draw several parallels between early *ghulāt* ideas as found in their surviving works and heresiographic literature, and the teachings of KAA.

The most prominent parallel between our text and early *ghulāt* ideas is found in its very title: the *aẓilla* and *ashbāḥ*, the “shadows and phantoms,” which, according to the book, were luminous entities that were created before all else. This notion has been widely attested among the second/eighth and third/ninth century *ghulāt*. The earliest attestation of this idea, bearing traces of Platonist, Gnostic, and Zoroastrian teachings,²² is found in the first half of the second/eighth century. Mughīra b. Saʿīd al-ʿIjlī, who rebelled in Kufa in 119/737, believed that God created mankind as shadows, and the first shadow (*ẓill*) among them was the Prophet Muḥammad.²³ The Ḥarbiyya, followers of ʿAbdallāh b. Muʿāwiya, who rebelled several years later, also believed in the *aẓilla*.²⁴

A wealth of references to the *aẓilla* and *ashbāḥ* is found in Shiʿi *ḥadīth*, which has preserved numerous elements of the teachings of the *ghulāt*.²⁵ Like in KAA, the two terms here denote luminous spiritual entities created before the rest of creation,²⁶ who were the prototypes of the Prophet and the Imams,²⁷

al-dīn, Silsilat al-turāth al-ʿalawī, vol. 4, eds. Abū Mūsā and Shaykh Mūsā, n.p. Lebanon, 2006, p. 68; he does not mention the title of the work, simply stating that it is “a passage from it” (*faṣl minhu*). This could, however, be a quotation from *Kitāb al-haft*, which anonymously quotes this fragment of KAA.

22 Patricia Crone, *The Nativist Prophets of Early Islamic Iran: Rural Revolt and Local Zoroastrianism*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 213-14.

23 Al-Ashʿarī, *Maqālāt*, pp. 7-8; al-Baghdādī, *Farq*, p. 240; cf. Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milāl wa l-niḥal*, ed. Aḥmad Fahmī Muḥammad, Beirut, 1992, vol. 1, pp. 180-81.

24 Al-Nāshīʾ al-Akbar, *Masʿūl al-imāma*, in J. van Ess, *Frühe muʿtazilitische Häresiographie*, Beirut, 2003, p. 37 (Arabic pagination); Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaq al-shīʿa*, ed. Hellmut Ritter, Istanbul, 1931, p. 31; Halm, “Das ‘Buch der Schatten’ ” 58 (1981), pp. 16 ff; Crone, *The Nativist Prophets*, pp. 208 ff.

25 Modarressi, *Crisis*, p. 47.

26 Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar al-Ghaffārī, Beirut, 1980, vol. 1, pp. 441, 442; vol. 8, p. 6; Muḥammad b. Masʿūd al-ʿAyyāshī, *al-Taḥfīṣ*, Qum, 2000, vol. 1, p. 282; Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār* (Beirut, 1983), vol. 52, p. 309; Ibn Bābūya, *Mān lā yaḥḍuruḥu l-faqīh*, ed. Ḥasan al-Mūsawī al-Kharsān, Tehran, 1970, vol. 4, p. 254.

27 Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 1, p. 441; vol. 4, p. 256; vol. 6, p. 576; Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*, Beirut, 1401/1971, vol. 6, p. 55; Furāt al-Kūfī, *Taḥfīṣ*, ed. Muḥammad al-Kāẓim, Tehran, 1990, p. 338; Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide in Early*

the believers,²⁸ or all of mankind.²⁹ In some *ḥadīth*, as in our text, the *azīlla* glorify, extol, and worship God.³⁰ While in the latter the “phantoms” and “shadows” follow each other chronologically in creation, in *ḥadīth* the two terms are mostly used interchangeably, with an occasional shade of difference in their meaning. E.g., Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq once allegedly told one of his followers that “the first thing that God created are Muḥammad and his rightly guided and guiding family; they were phantoms of light (*ashbāḥ nūr*) before Him”; when asked what the phantoms are, the Imam said, “shadow of light (*ẓill nūr*), luminous bodies.”³¹

While the dating of individual *ḥadīth* is a matter of debate, we know that some of the above material about the *azīlla* and *ashbāḥ* was compiled toward the end of the third/ninth, and in the fourth/tenth centuries. This sets a latest possible date for their origin, but many traditions no doubt go back much earlier in time. Several more easily datable references show that the belief was still popular among the *ghulāt* as late as the end of the third/ninth and in the fourth/tenth centuries. Heresiographer Sa‘d b. ‘Abdallāh al-Qummī (d. 301/913-14) wrote that the Mukhammisa *ghulāt* believed that God manifested in four phantoms, the Prophet Muḥammad, ‘Alī, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, and Fāṭima. The prominent Shī‘ī family called Karkhiyyūn held a similar belief, which apparently was at that time a “well-known teaching.”³²

In the late second/eighth-early third/ninth century, four Kufan Shī‘ī authors wrote books entitled *Kitāb al-azīlla*. All of them are now lost, but the similarity of titles to KAA is more than telling. That one of these books could have *ghulāt* content can be surmised by the fact that al-Najāshī calls it “of corrupt doctrine and confused” (*mukhtalat*),³³ the latter term used as a typical designation

Shi‘ism: The Sources of Esotericism in Islam, trans. David Streight, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1994, pp. 16, 32.

28 Al-Qummī, *Baṣā‘ir al-darajāt*, p. 131; al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 1, p. 438; vol. 6, p. 256.

29 Al-‘Ayyāshī, *Tafsīr*, vol. 1, p. 282.

30 Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 1, p. 441.

31 Al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 1, pp. 442, 531; Furāt, *Tafsīr*, pp. 74, 372, 552; Ḥasan al-‘Askarī (attr.), *Tafsīr*, ed. ‘Alī ‘Āshūr, n.p., 1426/2005, p. 177; Rajab al-Bursī, *Mashāriq anwār al-yaqīn*, Tehran, n.d., p. 41; see also, Uri Rubin, “Pre-existence and Light: Aspects of the Concept of Nūr Muḥammad,” *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975), pp. 99-100.

32 Abū ‘Abd Allāh Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, Beirut, 1957, vol. 4, pp. 447-48; at a later period, which is irrelevant for our study, the idea would still be found among the Nuṣayrīs and Ishāqīs, who, according to a testimony by Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Shahrastānī, believed that the Imams were “shadows at the right hand of [God’s] throne,” see *Milal*, vol. 1: 193.

33 Al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 225; cf. Modarressi, *Crisis*, p. 23.

of “extremist” beliefs. Furthermore, one of those authors was Muḥammad b. Sinān al-Zāhirī (d. 220/835), who was well-known for his *ghulāt* beliefs.³⁴

Finally, there are two books with similar titles that do survive, and the similarity of their content to KAA allows to place them in the same religious milieu. One is the well-known *Kitāb al-haft wa l-aẓilla*, and the other is *Kitāb al-aẓilla*, preserved in works of later Nuṣayrī authors.³⁵ The latter text is preserved fragmentarily, but a good portion of its creation myth is intact, giving us an overall idea about its cosmology. Here, God created the shadows after having created a word of four letters (probably Muḥammad), His throne, and spreading His light. He then made the shadows in “seven ranks and seven classes” and placed them at the top of creation.³⁶

The description of shadows and phantoms in *Kitāb al-haft* more closely dovetails with that of KAA. According to the former, God first created a shadow (*ẓill*) after His own image. He then divided it into numerous shadows (*aẓilla*); then He praised Himself, and they praised Him for seven thousand years. From their praise God created the highest veil (*ḥijāb*)—one of the human forms that He assumed in order to appear to His creation—and the phantoms (*ashbāḥ*). Then followed the creation of the world, comprising seven heavens, seven Adams, the progeny of each of these Adams, and concluded with the creation of the Devil from the transgressions of the believers.³⁷ In KAA, the order of the creation of the shadows and phantoms is reverse; God first made the believers in the form of phantoms, who praised and worshipped Him, and only later made the shadows.

The similarity between KAA’s cosmology and other early *ghulāt* beliefs extends further, including the idea of seven Adams and seven heavens. In KAA, God created seven Adams, each with his progeny, and each living in one of the heavens. He likewise made seven bodies, and put in each a devil’s soul. In *Kitāb al-haft*, too, God created seven Adams, and for each He created a Paradise and a heaven, and then—seven times everything He had initially created.³⁸ The story appears in the first layer of *Kitāb al-haft*, one that might go back as early

34 Halm, *Die Islamische Gnosis*, pp. 242–43; al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, pp. 313–14; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Zurārī, *Risālat Abī Ghālib al-Zurārī*, ed. Muḥammad Riḍā Ḥusaynī, Qum, 1990, p. 175.

35 Interestingly, both in al-Ḥarrānī’s and al-Jillī’s works, the fragment from KAA is quoted following the one from *Kitāb al-aẓilla*, which probably indicates that either one of the authors copied both excerpts from the other’s book, or that they both copied from another text (or copies thereof) which had both fragments in the same order.

36 See Asatryan, “*Kitāb al-aẓilla*, Nuṣayrī Literature,” pars. 1–7 of the Appendix.

37 *Kitāb al-haft wa l-aẓilla*, ed. Arif Tamer, Beirut, 1981, pp. 16–32.

38 *Kitāb al-haft*, p. 18.

as the second/eighth century but could be later. A more datable attestation of this teaching is al-Nāshī's brief testimony that the aforementioned Ḥarbiyya, in the first half of the second/third century, believed in seven Adams.³⁹

Finally, the third major theme in KAA⁴⁰ that resonates with other *ghulāt* teachings is that of the "chain of being," leading upwards to God and downwards to the world of animals, plants, and inanimate beings. Most clearly adumbrated in *Kitāb al-ṣirāt*, this theme is widely attested across surviving *ghulāt* writings and heresiographies. The upward path consists of seven degrees of spiritual perfection (called with almost identical names in all available accounts).⁴¹ Each of these degrees, or stations, surpasses the others in its level of belief and knowledge and leads the believer closer to God. In his heresiography, written at the turn of the third/ninth-fourth/tenth century, Sa'd b. 'Abdallāh al-Qummī attributed the same belief to the Mukhammisa *ghulāt*.

The downward path, according to KAA, consists of seven degrees of unbelief and Hell.⁴² However, KS and most accounts of *ghulāt* teachings—insider as well as outsider—mention that in the case of sinful humans, the downward path includes the transmigration of human souls into sub-human bodies, called with the terms *naskh/tanāsukh* and *maskh/masūkhiyya*. And while KAA does not mention *naskh*, it does discuss the notion of *masūkhiyya* in numerous passages.

Most (if not all) of the texts which I compared to KAA, and the four lost *Kutub al-aẓilla*, originate in the second half of the second/eighth-third/ninth century,⁴³ in the *ghulāt* milieu of Iraq. If the above material is sufficient to prove that KAA was produced in the same religious environment (and there are many more, smaller parallels mentioned in the footnotes in the translation), then we should place its origin roughly in the same time and place.

The later trajectory and the environment where it circulated are more certain as we have direct indications in later sources. As was mentioned above, part of KAA is anonymously embedded in *Kitāb al-haft*, and was quoted by name by two fourth/tenth century Nuṣayrī authors. That KAA should be quoted in *Kitāb al-haft* indicates that it circulated in the same religious environment. Furthermore, it formed part of the collection of *ghulāt* texts which

39 Al-Nāshī' al-Akbar, *Masā'il al-imāma*, p. 37 (Arabic pagination).

40 Par. 37.

41 For a comparison of several versions, see Asatryan, *Heresy and Rationalism*, p. 83.

42 Pars. 39–40.

43 Andrew Newman, *The Formative Period of Twelver Shī'ism: Ḥadīth as Discourse between Qum and Baghdad*, Richmond, Surrey, Curzon Press, 2000, pp. 51, 67, 96; Meir Bar-Asher, *Scripture and Exegesis in Early Imāmī Shīism*, Leiden, Brill, 1999, p. 29, pp. 33–34, pp. 56–59.

the Nuṣayrīs took with them from Iraq to Syria in the fourth/tenth century. Hence its occurrence in the writings of the two Nuṣayrī authors along with a number of other texts, such as *Kitāb al-haft*, *Kitāb al-aẓilla*, *Kitāb al-usūs*, *Kitāb bāṭin al-talkīf*, and many others.⁴⁴

Manuscripts and Principles of Edition

Below is a list of the manuscripts and printed texts used in the critical edition, along with their sigla:

Manuscripts

- A: The Institute of Ismaili Studies, MS 140, ff. 139b-166a [colophon on f. 166a].
- B: The Institute of Ismaili Studies, MS 511, ff. 18a-38a.

Fragments in Nuṣayrī works

- C: Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Jillī, *Ḥāwī l-asrār*, Silsilat al-turāth al-‘alawī, vol. 2 (eds. Abū Mūsā and Shaykh Mūsā, Lebanon, n.d., 2006), pp. 209-12.
- D: Ḥasan b. Shu‘ba al-Ḥarrānī, *Ḥaqā’iq asrār al-dīn*, Silsilat al-turāth al-‘alawī, vol. 4 (eds. Abū Mūsā and Shaykh Mūsā, Lebanon, n.d., 2006), pp. 74-77.

Fragments in Kitāb al-haft wa l-aẓilla/Kitāb al-haft al-sharīf

- E: The Institute of Ismaili Studies, MS 1030 (edited by Muṣṭafā Ghālib as *Kitāb al-haft al-sharīf*, Beirut, 1988, pp. 184-89).⁴⁵
- H: Arif Tamir (ed.), *Kitāb al-haft wa l-aẓilla* (Beirut, 2007 [first published in 1981]), pp. 192-95.

The critical edition of KAA is chiefly based on the two manuscripts from the collection of the Institute of Ismaili Studies, both containing what appears to

44 For a list of these works, and for a discussion of the transmission of *ghulāt* texts from Iraq to Syria, see Asatryan, “*Kitāb al-aẓilla*, Nuṣayrī Literature.”

45 The pages of the manuscript have two numerations, one at the top of the page, one at the bottom, each marking the number of the page and not the folio; according to the top one, the passage from KAA is quoted on pp. 280-87, and according to the bottom one, it is on pp. 192-99.

be the entire text of the treatise, and both written in the twentieth century.⁴⁶ In addition, I have consulted two other textual traditions. One consists of the quotations in Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Jillī's *Ḥāwī l-asrār* and Ḥasan b. Shū'ba al-Ḥarrānī's *Ḥaqā'iq asrār al-dīn*, which cover paragraphs 20-26 and 37-54 of the text.⁴⁷ Because of the unavailability of manuscripts (the editors keep them a mystery), I have used the editions that have appeared in the *Silsilat al-turāth al-'alawī*. The second textual tradition is the passage anonymously embedded in chapter 66 of *Kitāb al-haft*, and covering paragraphs 1-16 of the text. Since KH itself has undergone at least three editions, each from a different manuscript, I have consulted the manuscript used by Ghālib for his edition, and the 2007 reprint of Tamir's 1981 edition. I have consulted these two texts only for paragraphs 1-11,⁴⁸ since thereafter the passage significantly departs from the version of the two MSS and is corrupt. I have omitted Tamir's and Khalifé's 1960 edition of *Kitāb al-haft* since it almost entirely agrees with Tamir's 1981 edition.

The textual variants can be divided into three groups: AB, CD, and EH. The relationship between EH and CD is not clear as they do not overlap, while AB clearly stand out as separate from both CD and EH. In preparing the edition, I have chiefly relied on AB against the variants of CD and EH, except when the latter have appeared more correct; and I have preferred A to B in cases where none of the two readings have seemed preferable, such as A's **الله تعالى** against B's **الله عز وجل**. Some of the problematic readings are discussed in the footnotes of the English translation.

Because A and B are the main sources for the edition and because they cover the entire text, when a reading differs between these two, in the critical apparatus I only note the variant that I have discarded, assuming that the preferred one belongs to the other manuscript. E.g., if an item in the apparatus says B **كما**, this means that the preferred variant appearing in the text (**بما**) belongs to A. However, if I prefer a variant from any of the other four texts, I begin the item in the apparatus with the siglum of the preferred text, separating it by a semicolon from the discarded ones. E.g., "E; ABC **كما**" means "the preferred variant

46 Adam Gacek, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the Institute of Ismaili Studies* London, Islamic Publications, 1984, vol. 1, p. 7; Wladimir Ivanow, *A Guide to Ismaili Literature*, London, The Royal Asiatic Society, 1933, p. 77; id. *Ismaili Literature: A Bibliographical Survey*, Tehran, Ismaili Society, 1963, p. 97; Ismail Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismā'īlī Literature*, Malibu, CA, Undena Publishers, 1977, p. 339.

47 Al-Ḥarrānī also quotes a small passage from par. 19 of my edition, *Ḥaqā'iq*, p. 157.

48 Pp. 192-95 of Tamir's edition, and pp. 280/192-285/197.

is from E; the discarded variant **كما** is from ABC.” When a variant reading in C, D, E, or H coincides with A’s or B’s reading, I do not note it in the apparatus. When the texts differ in their use of the conjunctions **و** and **ف**, unless the meaning is affected; I simply prefer A’s variant, without noting the difference.

None of the manuscripts have punctuation, and the orthography is not uniform. To help the reader, I have introduced punctuation and have standardized the orthography, without, however, noting the variants in the footnotes. I note the vocalization only when it affects the meaning. To make referencing easier, I have divided the text into paragraphs along thematic lines. The number of each paragraph, both in the edition and in the translation, is noted in square brackets. In both manuscripts, the text is divided into eight chapters (*juz’*). This division is sometimes random, as it does not always follow thematic divisions and in one case even interrupts the text in the middle of a sentence. However, I have preserved it since it cannot be verified whether this is a later scribal addition or part of the original text.

كتاب الاشباح والاطلة

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم⁴⁹

[1] قال⁵⁰ ابراهيم بن جعفر: ⁵¹ اول ما خلق ⁵² الله عز وجل المؤمنين ⁵³ خلقهم اشباحا من ⁵⁴ قبل ان يخلقهم ⁵⁵ اظلة. فسبح الله نفسه وهلل نفسه ⁵⁶ فسبحت الاشباح كما سبح الله وهللت كما هلل الله. والاشباح يومئذ كالشيء الذي لا يتبين ⁵⁷ لا حياة فيه. ⁵⁸ والدليل على ذلك الصدى ⁵⁹ الذي خلقه ⁶⁰ في الدنيا ، فاذا ⁶² تكلم الرجل او صاح اجابه ⁶³ مثل صوته. ⁶⁴ وذلك في موضع دون موضع وليس في كل موضع ذلك ، ⁶⁵ جعل الله ذلك ⁶⁶ دليلا ⁶⁷ على الاشباح لان ⁶⁸ الاشباح كانت تجيب الله بما ⁶⁹ يقول فلا حياة ⁷⁰ فيها. ⁷¹

49 نستعين والحمد لله مستحق حمده B add.

50 عن B

51 ان EH: قال ابراهيم بن جعفر

52 ابتدأ AB; EH

53 ان AB add.

54 Omit. EH.

55 خلقهم EH; AB

56 BH; omit. A.

57 . والتسبيح هو الشيء الذي لا يتبين لقول B; والشبح الذي لا يتبين بقول EH; A

58 لا حياة فيه. EH omit.

59 انه الطنين (marginalia); H الصد (crossed out) الض E

60 جعله الله H; B omit.

61 Omit. A.

62 اذا ABE; H

63 اجابة B

64 صوطه E

65 وليس ... ذلك. EH omit.

66 الله تعالى ذلك H; الله ذلك E; omit. AB.

67 دليل BE

68 وان E

69 كما B

70 حنا E

71 ; مركب ممزوج بل حياتاً بسيط حي لطيف كما ان الصدى يجيب الانسان بما يقول ولا حياتاً فيه. E add.

مركب ممزوج بل حياة بسيطة حية لطيفة كما ان الصدى يجيب الانسان بما يقول ولا حياة فيه. H add.

[2] ثم خلق الله عز وجل الاظلة. فسيح الله نفسه وهمل الله⁷² نفسه فاجابته الاشباح واجابت الاظلة الاشباح⁷³ فلم تجب الرب فصارت تلك زلة. ومثل ذلك ما⁷⁴ تراه⁷⁵ في المرأة اذا تكلمت،⁷⁶ فانها⁷⁷ تتكلم وكأنها تنطق بلا روح⁷⁸ فكذلك الاظلة اجابت الاشباح بلا روح⁷⁹ ثم خلق الله الارواح⁸⁰ وانما⁸¹ سُميت⁸² ارواحا⁸³ لانها راحت الى الله مثل ما يروح الطير الى وكره. ووجه آخر، سُميت ارواحا لان راحتها في معرفة الله عز وجل.⁸⁴

[3] فقالت⁸⁵ الارواح لله تبارك وتعالى: "مما⁸⁶ خلقتنا وكيف ابتدأتنا، حتى⁸⁷ نعرف بدء خلقك فينا؟"⁸⁸ فقال: "89" ابتدأت الاشباح ثم الاظلة ثم انتم⁹⁰ يعني الارواح". فقالوا⁹¹ لله: "92" قد علمنا كيف خلقتنا ونريد ان نعلم⁹³ فيما نشأ وفيه نموت".

72 Omit. EH.

- 73 ثم الاظلة اجابت الاشباح EH: واجابت... الاشباح
74 والدليل على ذلك ان الاشباح اما H; والدليل على ذلك الاشباح اما E: فلم تجب... ذلك ما
75 ترى EH; يرى B
76 في المرء اذا تكلم H; في المرء ان تكلمت E: المرأة اذا تكلمت
77 فهي H; فكانت E; فكانها A
78 كأنه ينطق الارواح فيه EH: وكأنها... روح
79 ولا روح فيها H; والارواح فيها E: بلا روح
80 EH; omit. AB. ثم... الارواح
81 انا B
82 سمت E
83 ارواح E
84 في راحتها بمعرفة H; في راحتها بمعرفة الله ووجه آخر راحت الى الله E: لانها راحت... عز وجل
الله ووجه آخر انها راحت الى الله
85 فقال A
86 ثم قالت الارواح يا رب كيف H; ثم قلت يا رب كيف E: لم; فقالت... مما B

87 Omit. E.

- 88 خلقنا وخلقك EH: خلقك فينا
89 لهم مني EH add.
90 ابتدأت الاشباح في الاظلة ثم الاسم EH; AB: ابتدأت... انتم
91 فقالت B
92 فقالوا يا رب H فقال يا رب E: فقالوا لله
93 فعلمنا H: ونريد ان نعلم

[4] قال الله عز وجل: "انكم تشأون على طاعتي ثم تعصوني⁹⁴ بلا اعتماد منكم⁹⁵، ولو اعتمدتم معصيتي ما آمنتم بي.⁹⁶ فاحتجب⁹⁷ عنكم واخلق⁹⁸ لكم⁹⁹ ابدانا تحجب¹⁰⁰ بعضكم عن معرفة¹⁰¹ بعض وادعوكم الى نفسي فيما احتجب¹⁰² به عنكم فتعبدوني. وحجبي كثيرة وساختار¹⁰³ منها حجابا لا افارقه ولا يفارقني. فمن عبدني به منكم كان مؤمنا¹⁰⁴ ومن عبدني بحجبي¹⁰⁵ كلها¹⁰⁶ كان كافرا. وذلك¹⁰⁷ ان حجبي¹⁰⁸ كلها اسكنها¹⁰⁹ غيري، كل ذلك ابتلاء¹¹⁰ لا بليس¹¹¹ لئلا يعرفني ولا يعبدني على حقيقة¹¹² فمن عبدني على الايمان¹¹³ او على¹¹⁴ [الايقان]¹¹⁵ كافأته بالحجاب الذي

- 94 تعصون B
95 فقال لهم تشأون في طاعتي ثم تعصون بلا اعتماد منكم E: قال الله عز وجل... بلا اعتماد منكم; الى B add.
96 فقال لهم تشأون في طاعتي ثم تعصون بلا اعتماد منكم على معصيتي H
96 متم ابدأ H; متم بي ابدأ E; آمنتم بي A: آمنتم بي
97 ثم احتجب E
98 وخلق E
99 Omit. E.
100 تحجب H; يحتجب AB; E
101 Omit. EH.
102 احتجبت E
103 متي اختار EH
104 حقا EH add.
105 بالحجب H; عبد حجبي A; BE
106 كل ما A
107 كذلك B
108 كثيرة EH add.
109 اسكنها يعني اسكنها EH; امسكن B
110 ابتداء B
111 الى اولاد الشيطان H; لولد الشيطان E
112 لانهم لا يعرفوني ولا يعبدوني بحقيقة المعرفة EH: لئلا... حقيقة
113 ايمان EH
114 و EH: او على
115 النفاق AB; ايقان EH

لا افارقه.¹¹⁶ وكذلك¹¹⁷ اوجبت على نفسي. وارتد ان لا يعبدني الشيطان وولده بذلك وان تعبدوني، اتم به احق، لانه حقيقة الايمان".¹¹⁸

[5] فقال المؤمنون: "يا رب وكيف نعصيك وكيف معصية¹¹⁹ عدونا¹²⁰ ومن اي¹²¹ شيء تخلقه؟" قال: ¹²² "اني خلقتكم¹²³ من الاظلة والاظلة¹²⁴ اجابت الاشباح، فكانت هفوتكم¹²⁵ على غير اعتماد فترككم¹²⁶ الله¹²⁷ احدي¹²⁸ وخمسين الف¹²⁹ سنة".

[6] ثم تكلم بالجزء الثاني¹³⁰ فقال: "﴿إِنِّي جَاعِلٌ فِي الْأَرْضِ خَلِيفَةً﴾"¹³¹ هو عدوكم وعدو الحجب¹³² وليس لي عدو ولا¹³³ ضد¹³⁴، وانما¹³⁵ الضد يقدر و¹³⁶ يقهر". قالوا: "يا رب وما يصنع¹³⁷ ذلك¹³⁸ العدو؟" فقال تعالى: "ان ذكرتموني بحجابي قتلکم¹³⁹ وان

116 ولا يفارقتي EH add.

117 لذلك؛ H ذلك E

118 وارتد ان لا يعرفني ابليس في ذلك الحجاب لانه حقيقة الايمان AB؛ H وارتد... الايمان

119 معصيتنا B

120 تخلق عددا H؛ تخلق عدوا E: معصية عدونا

121 Omit. E.

122 فقال الله تعالى H؛ قال اني خلقتكم E

123 من تلك الاشباح والاشباح اجابتي وقد خلقتكم EH add.

124 Omit. EH.

125 صفوتكم E؛ هو بكم B

126 فتركهم H؛ قال فتركهم E؛ فتركهم A

127 Omit. EH.

128 احد H.

129 Omit. A.

130 (marginalia) الجزء الثاني A؛ الله EH؛ بالجزء الثاني

131 Cor 2, 30.

132 الحجاب AB؛ EH

130 له EH؛ لي عدو ولا

134 ضدا E

135 يكون H add.

136 لمن EH؛ او؛ يقدر و B

137 صنع E

138 Omit. E.

139 "صنعت هذا الضد؟" قال: "انكرتموني بحجابي فلكم" H؛ AB؛ وما يصنع... قتلکم

آمنت¹⁴⁰ بي من بين¹⁴¹ حجبى عذبكم. ولا يبقى¹⁴² عليكم كل ذلك [الا] لما¹⁴³ شككتكم في الله¹⁴⁴ لانه¹⁴⁵ ﴿كل يوم هو في شأن﴾¹⁴⁶ وانه يبدوله.¹⁴⁷ قالوا: "وما علينا ان نستقبله"،¹⁴⁸ فكانت اول زلة زلها المؤمنون علي غير علم ولا تعمد.¹⁴⁹

[7] فقالوا: 150: "﴿أَتَجْعَلُ فِيهَا مَنْ يُفْسِدُ فِيهَا وَيَسْفِكُ الدِّمَاءَ وَنَحْنُ نُسَبِّحُ بِحَمْدِكَ وَنُقَدِّسُ لَكَ﴾ ونهلك ونعبدك". فقال عز وجل: ﴿إِنِّي أَعْلَمُ مَا لَا تَعْلَمُونَ﴾.¹⁵¹ وانما خافوا حين قال لهم: "ان حجبى كلها اسكنتها غيري واني احجبكم واحجب بعضكم عن بعض". فداخلهم الفرع¹⁵² والمخافة.¹⁵³ ثم قال لهم: 154: "كذا" علمي فيكم ولو لم تراودوني¹⁵⁶ لبطل علمي¹⁵⁷.

140 امتنم EH

141 Omit. EH.

142 يستقبلي B; يبقيني A; EH

143 بما EH; AB

144 بي EH: في الله

145 وعبدتم حجبى ولم تعرفوني والحجاب الاسم بلا معنى تعبدون الاسم بلا معنى. فاجتمع المؤمنون. E add.

وعبدتم حجبى ولم تعرفوني والحجاب الاسم هو بلا معنى تعبدون الاسم. H add.; على تستقبلوا الله اذ قال لهم بلا معنى. فاجتمع المؤمنون على ان يستقبلوا اذ قال

146 Cor 55, 29.

147 اني كل يوم في شأن وانه يبدوني EH: كل يوم... يبدوله

148 نستقبل الله EH; Cor 2, 30;

149 ان ذلك لله EH add.; فكانت... تعمد EH; AB omit.

150 يا رب EH add.

151 Cor 2, 30.

152 والضعف E

153 عند ذلك EH add.; H; وانا خافوا... والمخافة omit. AB

154 تعالى H; omit. E

155 ان EH

156 تزودني E

157 ولكنه تم علمي AB add.

[8] فخلق الله من زلة المؤمنين حجابا حجب به المؤمنين و¹⁵⁸خلق لكل واحد منهم حجابا من زلته¹⁵⁹ حجبه عن¹⁶⁰ صاحبه. فخلق¹⁶¹ من حجاب به الذي خلقه من زلة المؤمنين الشيطان وابليس¹⁶² ﴿الَّذِي يُوَسْوِسُ فِي صُدُورِ النَّاسِ﴾¹⁶³. ثم ان الله تعالى خلق من كل حجاب للمؤمنين¹⁶⁴ روحا شيطانية¹⁶⁵ على [عددهم]¹⁶⁶. فخلق ابليس وذريته¹⁶⁷ من معصية المؤمنين¹⁶⁸ ثم دعى¹⁶⁹ الله¹⁷⁰ تعالى ابليس وذريته الى عبادته فقالوا¹⁷¹: "اخبرنا كيف خلقتنا¹⁷² وكيف ابتدأنا¹⁷³ حتى نكون من ذلك على علم". فاخبرهم بدء خلقهم.

- 158 ثم B
159 زلة المؤمنين A
160 من A
161 الله B add.
162 من حجاب احتجبت به عنهم وهي الحروف وهو حجاب EH : الله من زلة ... وابليس ; والذي و AB add.
آدم ثم خلق لكل واحد حجاب من زلته على قدر انصاره فحجبه عن صاحبه وخلق من حجاب به الاول ابليس قال آخر. E add. والشيطان
163 Cor 114, 5; AB add. وشيطان الجنة; وشيطان الجنة الذي خلقه; is probably a corruption where the second element comes from the Qur'anic verse that follows—من الجنة والناس (Cor 114,6); وشيطان الجنة is probably automatically copied from the previous sentence; EH
خلق هؤلاء من حجاب به الذي خلقه من زلة المؤمنين
164 لكل خلق EH : من كل ... للمؤمنين
165 روح شيطان E : روحا شيطانية
166 عددهم فكان E add. ; عدوهم ABEH
167 وولده لعنهم الله H ; وولده E
168 ثم في الجملة ان الله خلق حجابا كثيرة من حجب المؤمنين EH add.
169 الى B add.
170 ثم ان الله دعى H : ثم دعى الله
171 قال ابليس وولده H ; فقال BA ; E
172 بدأ الخلق H
173 الخلق H ; وبدوا الخلق وخلقنا E

[9] فقال ابليس: "واين كما؟ انما خلقتنا من المعصية¹⁷⁴ وقد عصى المؤمنون فغفرت¹⁷⁵ لهم. فما¹⁷⁶ علينا ان عصينا مرة¹⁷⁷ واحدة ثم تغفر¹⁷⁸ لنا". [واعتمد¹⁷⁹ هو¹⁸⁰ وذريته معصية الله تعالى¹⁸¹ فاحتجب الله¹⁸² بالحجاب¹⁸³ الذي سماه آدم¹⁸⁴. قال الله تعالى¹⁸⁵ للملائكة: ﴿اسْجُدُوا لِآدَمَ﴾،¹⁸⁶ ثم قال: "اسجدوا¹⁸⁷ الى البيت".¹⁸⁸ فسجد¹⁸⁹ الملائكة و¹⁹⁰ المؤمنون لله¹⁹¹ من جهة آدم كما امرهم¹⁹² ولم يسجد¹⁹³ الابالسة.

[10] فقال الله تعالى لابليس وذريته: ﴿اسْجُدُوا لِآدَمَ﴾،¹⁹⁴ فقال¹⁹⁵ ابليس: ﴿أَنَا خَيْرٌ مِنْهُ خَلَقْتَنِي مِنْ نَارٍ¹⁹⁶ وَخَلَقْتَهُ مِنْ طِينٍ﴾،¹⁹⁷ يعني "خلقتني من الشيء الذي

174 من اي شيء خلقهم ولم يبين لهم من اي شيء خلق المؤمنون ولم يسألوا عن بدء خلقهم كما E: بدء... المعصية من اي شيء خلقهم ولم يبين لهم من اي شيء خلق المؤمنون ولا عن بداية H: سألوا المؤمنون ولا عن بدء معصية

المعصية

175 هؤلاء يعني المؤمنون فغفر H: هؤلاء فغفر E: المؤمنون فغفرت

افما B

176 عصيت امرا A: عصينا مرة

يغفر EH

177 واعتقد AEH

ابليس H

180 فلما EH add.

181 واعتمد... الله B omit.

182 الاول EH

183 وهو العلي EH add.

184 الله تعالى EH omit.

185 Cor 7, 11.

186 اسجدوا لآدم ثم قال A omit.

187 اي اسجدوا لي من جهته. H: قال اسجدوا لي من جهة يقول من جهة البيت يعني القالب E: ثم قال... البيت

يقول من جهة البيت يعني القالب

188 سجدت EH

189 هم EH add.

190 Omit. EH.

191 الله EH add.

192 و EH add.

193 Cor 7, 11.

194 وانما سجدوا لله لآدم. ثم قال اللعين H: وانما اسجدوا لله لآدم وقال E: ولم يسجد... فقال

195 اي من حجابك H add.

196 يقول خلقتني من نار اي من حجابك E add. وخلقته من طين. Cor 7, 12; AH omit.

انا منك¹⁹⁸. فكذب ابليس¹⁹⁹ فجعل²⁰⁰ النور النار.²⁰¹ ولو صدق لقال: ²⁰² "خلقتني من الشيء الذي انار [؟] وهو آدم²⁰³ خلقته من طين يعني خلقته من زلة اوليائك²⁰⁴ فلذلك سجدوا له²⁰⁵ فانا اسجد لك ولا اسجد له".²⁰⁶

[11] فاحتجب الله تعالى بحجاب آدم²⁰⁷ لأن لا يدرك ابليس السجدة له. وأخفى بحجابه²⁰⁸ الاول عن²⁰⁹ ابليس²¹⁰ وخلق الله تعالى²¹¹ من معصية ابليس²¹² حجب المسوخية التي بخلاف صور²¹³ الآدميين²¹⁴ —الجزء²¹⁵ الثالث— التي اذا غضب الله تعالى على قوم مسخهم²¹⁶ قرده وخنازير وما اشبه ذلك من المسوخ. ثم ان ابليس لما ان²¹⁷ رأى²¹⁸ المؤمنين قد زلوا على غير اعتماد فحجبوا والبسوا²¹⁹ الحجب، ثم

- 198 انا ديك B: انا منك
199 يعني... ابليس. EH omit.
200 اللعين. H add.
201 نارا H; نار; للنار B
202 ولم يقل H; ولو قال E: ولو صدق لقال. Omit. A;
203 و. AB add. له التأويل ولكن خالف وذل وقال وآدم H; له التأويل قال وآدم E: انا وهو آدم
204 يقول خلقته من الذين هم بولائك H; يقول خلقته من الذين انا بولائك يعني المؤمنين E: اولئك يعني... اوليائك B
يعني المؤمنين
205 Omit. E.
206 لآدم H; له E: اسجد له
207 B
208 لاني H; لاني منك لامنه وهؤلاء يسجدون لهذا لانهم منه قال واخفى الله حجاب عنه E: فاحتجب... بحجابه
منك لامنه وهؤلاء يسجدون لآدم لانهم منه، يعني اللعين بذلك المؤمنين. ثم ان الله قال، واخفى الله حجاب عنه
الى A
209 لعنه الله. H add.
210
211 omit. EH: الله تعالى
212 معصيته EH: معصية ابليس
213 تخالف صورة H; بخلى فصور B: بخلاف صور
214 omit. E: التي بخلاف صور الآدميين
215 التجزؤ A

216 Omit. B.

217 Omit. B.

218 رالى؟ B

219 لبس B

راى حجبہ التي خُلِقَت من معصيته موحشة منكورة فَرَقَ ابليس خوفاً²²⁰ من²²¹ ان²²² يركب فيها²²³ هو²²⁴ وذريته فطلب السجدة اي²²⁵ سجدَ لله فسجد لكل جسم راه وللنار والماء والنجوم²²⁶ والشمس والقمر فكان سُنَّته²²⁷ لولده—ولليل والنهار ولجميع²²⁸ ما خلق الله تعالى، يقول: "لعل الله يحتجب²²⁹ بواحد²³⁰ منها".

[12] فادرك تلك السجدة التي امره الله بها فاعماه عن²³¹ ذلك. فلذلك صار الناس يعبدون كل شيء حتى صاروا يعبدون الدهر لان ابليس سجد للدهر فكانت²³² سُنَّته لولده²³³. وقال: "لعل²³⁴ الله يحتجب به"، وسجد للظلمة والنور فصارت تلك²³⁵ سُنَّته لولده. وسجد للطباع و سجد للناس فقال: "لعل الله يحتجب بالانسان"²³⁶ وسجد لولده²³⁷ وسجد ولده²³⁸ له. فمن اجل²³⁹ ذلك صار²⁴⁰ السجود الى اليوم²⁴¹ سُنَّته ابليس.

220 Omit. B.

221 Omit. A.

222 Omit. B.

224 Omit. B.

223 الله B

225 التي B

226 والشجرة. B add.

227 السنة B

228 جميع B

229 يحتجب A

230 نواحد B

231 من A

232 كان A

233 سنة الولد B

234 Omit. A.

235 Omit. A.

236 بالانسانية B

237 لولد B

238 ولد B

239 اصل B

240 صارت A

241 على. A add.

[13] فقالت الملائكة لابلis: "وما يمنعك السجود ولم تصب الله تعالى ولا حجاب به بمن تسجد²⁴² وقد تعيب عنك بحجاب به". [فاعتمد²⁴³ ابلis قتل المؤمنين فاغوى المؤمنين وقتلهم²⁴⁴، كل ذلك حسدا لهم كيف لم يدرك ما ادركوه من طاعة الله من السجدة لله الى آدم. وعلم ابلis وذريته ان آخر امرهم يصيرون الى المسوخية والى النار²⁴⁵. فلم يبال اي²⁴⁶ شيء صنع فلذلك [اغوى²⁴⁷ المؤمنين²⁴⁸ بعد لانه لم يدرك السجدة فلم يبال بما صنع وعلم انه يصير الى المسوخية والى الهلاك. وانما [اغوى المؤمنين²⁴⁹ لذنوبهم وتقصيرهم في توحيدهم وشكهم في الله الذي خلقهم.

[14] لانه قد اخذ عليهم الميثاق فقال تعالى في كتابه: "وَإِذْ أَخَذَ رَبُّكَ مِنْ بَنِي آدَمَ" من²⁵⁰ الذي يترى²⁵¹ في المواليد على مولد آدم "مِنْ ظُهُورِهِمْ"، من الامر²⁵² الذي ظهر ما عليه²⁵³ من توحيدهم "ذُرِّيَّتَهُمْ وَأَشْهَدَهُمْ عَلَى أَنْفُسِهِمْ" وعلى الذرية ان الله ذراهم²⁵⁴ وهم يعرفونه. فقال: ²⁵⁵ ﴿الَسْتُ بِرَبِّكُمْ قَالُوا بَلَى شَهِدْنَا أَنْ تَقُولُوا يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ إِنَّا كُنَّا عَنْ هَذَا غَافِلِينَ﴾ ²⁵⁶ عن حجاب ربنا الذي عرفنا من بين الحجب وكيف خلق حجبنا وكيف خلق²⁵⁷ ابلis وذريته، ولا توفيقي²⁵⁸ الا بالله.

242 لم تعرف الله تعالى ان تسجد له ولا لحجاب به A: لم تصب ... تسجد

243 اعتقد AB

244 بالمؤمنين وقتلهم B: المؤمنين وقتلهم

245 الناس A

246 باي A

247 اغرى AB

248 بالمؤمنين وانما كان سبب اغرائه بالمؤمنين B

249 اغرى بالمؤمنين AB

250 Omit. A.

251 يتر A

252 الاثر A

253 ظهور عليهم A: ظهر ما عليه

254 زادهم B

255 Omit. A.

256 انا كما ان تقولوا انا كما Cor 7, 172; the latter part of the verse is distorted in both manuscripts: A

لا تقل انا كما غافلين B; عن هذا غافلين

257 Omit. A.

258 يوثق A

[15] الجزء الرابع فلما علم ابليس انه لا بد له من ²⁵⁹ ان يصير الى ابدان المسوخية بمعصيته—خلق من معصيته ابدان المسوخية وخلق من معصية المؤمنين ابدان المؤمنين وارواح الشياطين ²⁶⁰—[عادي] ²⁶¹ ابليس المؤمنين قتملك عليهم بالقتل. ولم يكن ابليس يقدر ²⁶² ان يقتلهم برايه ²⁶³ الا بذنوب ²⁶⁴ سابقة ²⁶⁵ للمؤمنين عوقب بعضهم بعض. فاما ما كان من الفقر فهو من جحودهم حقوق المؤمنين واخذهم منهم ما ليس لهم. ²⁶⁶ فلذلك كان الفقر في المؤمنين. ²⁶⁷ واما [قتل] ²⁶⁸ الكافرين فقتلهم المؤمنين ²⁶⁹ في ابدان مختلفة. وانما غناء ²⁷⁰ الكافرين وحسن ما هم فيه من الدنيا [فمما] ²⁷¹ صنعوا بالمؤمنين في الابدان المختلفة.

[16] فمن اجار من المؤمنين او الكافرين مؤمنا من القتل ثم ركب في بدن اعطي من النعيم ²⁷² والقدرة ما يجير عشرة منهم من القتل. ومن اجار عشرة من المؤمنين من الخوف او القتل اعطي ما يجير مائة، ²⁷³ كل ²⁷⁴ ذلك جزاء لمن اجار مؤمنا من القتل. ²⁷⁵ وكل مؤمن فعلى قدر ايمانه. فاذا اجار بابا من القتل اعطي ملك سبع الدنيا لا ينازعه فيه احد الا غلبه وينال سبع نعيم الدنيا. وكذلك اعطي على قدره. وان كان على خمس درجات

259 من انه لا بد له ان B

260 من معصية المؤمنين ابدان المؤمنين وارواح الشياطين B: بمعصيته... الشياطين

261 فعاد B; عاد A

262 ابليس يقدر B; لا بليس يقدر A: ابليس يقدر

263 من رايه B

264 عباد add. A

265 بالغة AB; H

266 واخذهم منهم ما ليس لهم. B omit

267 فلذلك كان الفقر في المؤمنين. B omit

268 القتل AB

269 للمؤمنين A

270 عني A

271 فيما B; فينما؟ A

272 النعم B

273 الفا A

274 Omit. B.

275 من القتل. A omit.

من الايمان ²⁷⁶ أعطى على قدره وان ²⁷⁷ كان على ²⁷⁸ درجة واحدة ²⁷⁹ من الايمان أُعطي على قدره. فاذا اجار كافر مؤمنا وهو على درجته ²⁸⁰ من الايمان ²⁸¹ مُلِك عشرة آلاف درهم. وان آواه وكساه أُعطي على قدر ذلك كل حسنة بعشر ²⁸² امثالها ²⁸³ على قدر ما احسن اليه.

[17] فعلى قدر اختلاف الايمان ودرجاته ²⁸⁴ اختلف الناس في الغنى والفقير ²⁸⁵ وصاروا ²⁸⁶ ملوكا وتجارا وصناعا ²⁸⁷ بأيديهم. واما العلل التي تلزمهم من الاوجاع والاسقام والامراض ²⁸⁸ فيما يدخلون ²⁸⁹ على المؤمنين من الغموم والهموم ²⁹⁰ فعلى قدر ذلك يُحاسب الناس. ²⁹¹ فكذلك اختلاف مكاسب الناس على قدر ²⁹² ذلك ²⁹³ وكذلك ²⁹⁴ اختلاف امراضهم. واما الحبوس والسجون فحق ²⁹⁵ عليك ²⁹⁶ واجب في دنياك للمؤمن. ²⁹⁷ تحبسه عليه فتحبس به ²⁹⁸ وكذلك اذا طال الحبس او قصر فعلى قدر

276 درجات من الايمان. A omit.

277 من B

278 في A

279 Omit. B.

280 واحدة... درجة. B omit.

281 A add. اعطي على قدره. crossed out

282 بعشرة B

283 Cf. Cor 6, 16o.

284 كذلك. A add.

285 القصر B

286 Omit. A.

287 Omit. B.

288 Omit. B.

289 فيه. A add.

290 الهموم والغموم B: الغموم والهموم

291 يحاسب الناس. A omit.; على قدر ذلك B add.

292 A add. (crossed out). اختلاف

293 فكذلك... ذلك. B omit.

294 في. A add.

295 بحق A

296 عليهم B

297 واجب في دنياك. B omit.

298 [sic!] للمؤمنين يحبسونه عليهم فتحبس به B: فتحبسه عليه فتحبس به

ما حبس عليه²⁹⁹ المؤمن من حقه³⁰⁰. واما الغموم فهو من حق واجب عليك. وان³⁰¹
تقدر ان تعطيه فغممته كل الغم وكربته ونلته³⁰² على قدر ما غممت به المؤمن.
[18] واما ما كان من الفرح والحزن³⁰³ وملك الدراهم فبقدر³⁰⁴ الاستحقاق.³⁰⁵ واما
المقوت³⁰⁶ عليه رزقه فانما كان ذلك لانه قوت على المؤمن³⁰⁷ وعنده ما يوسع به³⁰⁸
عليه.³⁰⁹ فاذا³¹⁰ اضاف يوم ما بخبز وملح اعطى عشرة ايام³¹¹ خبزا وملحا لا يعطى غيره.
وعلى قدر ذلك اختلاف³¹² ما كل الناس ومشاربهم وارزاقهم في مطاعهم.³¹³
[19] واما³¹⁴ الملوكة فهي تكون على قدر المؤمنين في تفاضلهم في درجاتهم³¹⁵
[واجارتهم]³¹⁶ اياهم على قدر ايمانهم. واما الخلافة فتكون بما³¹⁷ اجار³¹⁸ الحجاب،
ان³¹⁹ اراد ان يقتله فلم يفعل حفظ³²⁰ فملك³²¹ الدنيا. واذا هتك الحجاب فقتله³²²

299 حبسه عليه : B حبس عليه

300 المؤمن من حقه B omit.

301 انت B ; لن A

302 فذلك كان مغنم؟ كثيرة او قليل B : كل... ونلته

303 الفرح والخوف A : الفرح والحزن ولحزن B

304 فبقدر B

305 فبقدر الاستحقاق A omit.

306 المقدر B

307 المؤمنين B

308 Omit. A.

309 عليهم B

310 فان B

311 ايام عشرة B : عشرة ايام

312 Erased in B.

313 والاموال فهي من الصدقات والاجارة تكون قد اجار مؤمنا B add.

314 ما B

315 درجاته B

316 اجازتهم AB

317 على قدر A

318 Omit. A.

319 Omit. A.

320 حفظ له B

321 بملك B

322 جاء B add.

جُعل³²³ في سير المسوخية ولم يُنعم عليه ابدا. وذلك ان المعصية في الحجاب هي الغاية والطاعة هي الغاية³²⁴ ولا معصية أكبر من القتل، لا طاعة أكرم³²⁵ من اجارة حجاب. فاجارة الحجاب ملك الدنيا. وكذلك ثوابه على قدر³²⁶ ما يقع في قلب الخليفة ان يفعل بالحجاب.³²⁷ وكذلك ان كان يريد به شرا نقص من عمره.³²⁸ فكذلك يختلف الملك في قصر العمر وطوله³²⁹ في امر الخلافة³³⁰ ان شاء الله تعالى.³³¹

[20] الجزء الخامس في ابتداء الاظلة في³³² بدء الخلق

ان الله تعالى خلق³³³ سبعة³³⁴ حجب من³³⁵ بعد³³⁶ الحجاب الاول³³⁷ خلقها من حجب الآدميين³³⁸ فسمى³³⁹ كل حجاب منها آدم. ثم دعا الى كل حجاب منها³⁴⁰ مثل³⁴¹ ما دعى الى الحجاب الاول³⁴² من السجود له.³⁴³ وخلق من حجابه الاول³⁴⁴

323 B superscript.

324 ولا طاعة A: هي الغاية

325 أكبر A

326 Omit. A.

327 كذلك A add.

328 وكذلك... عمره A omit.

329 يختلف العمر A add.; طوله B

330 الخليفة B

331 في فهم بلغك؟ الله هي B: ان شاء الله تعالى

332 من B

333 اول ما خلق A

334 سبع A

335 Omit. B.

336 بيده CD: سبعة حجب من

337 Omit. A.

338 وأظهره سبعة حجب C الأدميين: خلقها... الآدميين B

339 ثم خلق الله بيده الحجاب الاول سبع حجب سمي D: ان الله تعالى... فسمى Omit. B;

340 Omit. D.

341 بمثل D

342 repeated in D. سبع حجب... الاول

343 Omit. D.

344 من حجابه الاول. CD omit.

سبعة ابدان وركب³⁴⁵ في كل بدن منها روح ابليس. فصارت سبعة ابالس³⁴⁶ كما صارت
سبعة آدمين³⁴⁷ وكان³⁴⁸ ابليس³⁴⁹ ابي ان³⁵⁰ يسجد لآدم وكذلك الابالس³⁵¹ فمثله³⁵¹ ابت
ان تسجد للآدمين.³⁵²

[21] ومعنى السبعة³⁵³ الآدمين³⁵⁴ كمعنى آدمنا في الحجاب والمولد و[النسب]³⁵⁵
والحجب.³⁵⁶ واسماءها كلها في هذا الآدم كاسماء الحجب³⁵⁷ في الآدمين³⁵⁸
المتقدمين.³⁵⁹ واسماء الشياطين في آدمنا كاسماء الشياطين والفراعنة، واسماء
المؤمنين في آدمنا كاسماء المؤمنين في [الآدمين]³⁶⁰ بالنسب والعشائر.³⁶¹ العرب
والعجم والفرس والنبط³⁶² والترك والديلم والزنج والحبش³⁶³ والروم وما اشبه ذلك حذو

- 345 وركب. CD omit.
- 346 ابالس³⁴⁶. CD; AB
- 347 اوادم C
- 348 وكما ان CD
- 349 فصارت... ابليس. B omit.
- 350 لم: C: ابي ان
- 351 بعده D
- 352 comes... للآدمين CD; ابت ان تسجد للآدميين D; لم تسجد للاوادم C: للآدميين; ابت... للآدميين A
والعرب والعجم والفرس والنبط والترك والديلم والزنج والحبش والروم. several sentences later, after.
- 353 معه بسبعة B; سبعة A: معنى السبعة
- 354 الآدميين الاولى A
- 355 السبب AB
- 356 ومعنى... والحجب. CD omit.
- 357 والاسماء كلها هذه الآدم مثل D: والاسماء كلها في هؤلاء الاوادم مثل الاسماء C: واسماءها... الحجب
الاسماء
- 358 الآدميين ACD
- 359 كانت للحجب والادمين B: كاسماء... الآدميين CD; Omit. AB;
- 360 وكذلك الحجب والمؤمنون CD: الآدميين; واسماء... الآدميين AB
- 361 في. C add.; و. ABD add.; والعزاء B
- 362 القبط BD
- 363 والحبشة والزنج D: الحبشة; والزنج والحبش A

النعل بالنعل والقذة بالقذة والبدن بالبدن ، المولَّد³⁶⁴ والغني والفقير والملوك والصعلوك³⁶⁵ وغيرهم مثلاً بمثل.

[22] وقد قال قوم:³⁶⁶ "انما هو آدم واحد وذريته يكرّرون"³⁶⁷ في سبعة ابدان³⁶⁸. وانما هو³⁶⁹ الشيطان³⁷⁰ واحد وذريته مكرّرون في³⁷¹ سبعة ابدان.³⁷² وانما غلطوا فيها³⁷³ لان الاسم بالاسم والشيء بالشيء والمولد بالمولد.³⁷⁴ والذي تبا³⁷⁵ الله به³⁷⁶: "هم³⁷⁷ سبعة آدمين³⁷⁸ وسبعة ابالسّة". وكذلك خلق سبع³⁷⁹ سموات وسبع³⁸⁰ ارضين³⁸¹ وجعل لجهنم سبعة ابواب³⁸² والجنة ثمانية.³⁸³ وجعل سبعة ادوار³⁸⁴ وجعل في كل³⁸⁵ دور³⁸⁶ سبعة اعصار وجعل في كل³⁸⁷ عصر سبعة بحور عذبة وسبعة بحور³⁸⁸ مألحة.³⁸⁹

364 بالمولد B add. ; المواليّد A

365 الصّناع A

366 فذلك غلّطت الغلاة قالت B ; فذلك غلّطت الغلاة فقالوا A ; CD

367 فكرر B

368 مكرر سبعة ادوار D ; تكرر سبعة ادوار C ; ادوار ; وذريته ... ابدان B

369 انما هو D omit.

370 شيطان A.

371 مكرّرين D : مكرّرون في

372 وشيطان واحد تكرر سبعة ادوار C ; omit. : ادوار ; وانما هو ... ابدان A

373 فيما B

374 CD. omit. : وانما غلطوا ... بالمولد

375 بناه B

376 قال قوم بل D ; وقال قوم C : والذي ... به

377 CD ; omit. AB.

378 اوادم C ; ادمين AC

379 خلق لك نطق بسبع AB ; CD

380 سبعة C

381 وسبعة ... ارضين B omit.

382 لجهنم ابواب و B omit.

383 Omit. A.

384 وجعل ... ادوار C omit.

385 لكل A

386 الدور B

387 A add. (dittography). بحور

388 عيون ... عيون D : بحور ... بحور

389 تكوين سماوات سبع وارضين سبع ففي السموان سبع حنات وفي الارضين سبع نيران C : عصر ... مألحة وجعل في السموات سبع عيون عذبة وفي الارضين سبع عيون نكدة مألحة

[23] فاسكن الله³⁹⁰ آدم الاول³⁹¹ وذريته³⁹² في³⁹³ السماء السابعة واسكن آدم الثاني وذريته في³⁹⁴ السماء السادسة واسكن آدم الثالث وذريته في السماء الخامسة واسكن آدم الرابع وذريته في السماء الرابعة واسكن آدم الخامس وذريته في السماء الثالثة واسكن آدم السادس وذريته في السماء الثانية³⁹⁵ واسكن آدم السابع وذريته في السماء الدنيا التي تليها³⁹⁶ وهم سبعة آدمين³⁹⁷ و³⁹⁸ سبع سموات.³⁹⁹

[24] وكذلك خلق الله ابليس الاول وذريته⁴⁰⁰ فاسكنه⁴⁰¹ في [هاوية]⁴⁰² الارض⁴⁰³ السابعة ثم ابليس⁴⁰⁴ الثاني وذريته في [هاوية]⁴⁰⁵ [الارض]⁴⁰⁶ السادسة ثم ابليس الثالث وذريته في [هاوية]⁴⁰⁷ [الارض]⁴⁰⁸ الخامسة ثم ابليس الرابع وذريته في [هاوية]⁴⁰⁹ [الارض]⁴¹⁰ الرابعة ثم ابليس الخامس وذريته في [هاوية]⁴¹¹ [الارض]⁴¹² الثالثة ثم ابليس

390 Omit. C.

A crossed out. 391

392 Omit. C.

393 Omit. CD.

394 وذريته في. CD omit.

395 الثاني B

396 دانيا؟ B

397 آدميين A

398 في B

399 وكذلك سبعتها D؛ إلى انتهاء السبع C: واسكن... سموات

400 وذريته. B omit.

401 اسكن D: خلق... فاسكنه

402 هواء B؛ هوي A

403 الارضين A

404 Omit. A.

405 هواء B؛ هوي A

406 الارضين AB

407 هواء B؛ هوي A

408 الارضين AB

409 هواء B؛ هوي A

410 الارضين AB

411 هواء B؛ هوي A

412 الارضين AB

السادس وذريته في [هاوية] ⁴¹³ [الارض] ⁴¹⁴ الثانية ثم ابليس السابع وذريته في [هاوية] ⁴¹⁵
الارض ⁴¹⁶ الاولى التي تليها. ⁴¹⁷
[25] وهم [الآدمون] ⁴¹⁸ بصورهم المتفقة على ما استوى عليها. وكل قوم من الآدميين ⁴¹⁹
وذريتهم ⁴²⁰ في جنة من السموات ⁴²¹ وكل قوم من الابالسة وذريتهم في ⁴²² جهنم من
[مهوى] ⁴²³ الارضين. ⁴²⁴ فخير الآدميين ⁴²⁵ آدمنا ⁴²⁶ وشر الابالسة ابليسنا ولم يمتحن الله
بمثل ما امتحنت به امتنا. ⁴²⁷
[26] وجميع ذلك كان ابتداءه ⁴²⁸ وانقضاؤه ⁴²⁹ احدى ⁴³⁰ وخمسين ⁴³¹ الف سنة.
كل دور ⁴³² سبعة آلاف سنة وتسعة وتسعون ⁴³³ سنة. ⁴³⁴ فقل ان ذلك ما بين القائم

-
- 413 هواء B; هوي A
414 الارضين AB
415 هواء A; B; Omit.
416 الارضين B
417 دانيا؟ B
418 الآدميون B; الآدميين A
419 الآدميين B
420 ذريته B
421 وسموات A
422 الى A
423 هؤلاء B; هوي A
424 اسكن سبع ابالسة سبع ارضين D; اسكن السبعة ابالسة السبع الارضين C: خلق الله ابليس... الارضين
425 الاوادم C; الآدميين A
426 هذا C add.
427 ولم يمتحن... امتنا. B erased; CD omit.
428 ابتداء A
429 في D; في مدى C: ابتداءه وانقضاؤه (marginalia); add. انتهاء A
430 احدى D; واحد BC
431 خمسون B
432 ذلك A
433 تسعين AB

والقيامة.⁴³⁵ فالكرة على الحجب لتمام الاحدى⁴³⁶ والخمسين الف سنة،⁴³⁷ وكذلك⁴³⁸ "الف" "ب" "ت" "ث" احد⁴³⁹ و[خمسون]⁴⁴⁰ حرفا بنقطها، وكذلك ركوع الصلاة احدى⁴⁴¹ وخمسون⁴⁴² ركعة.⁴⁴³ كل ذلك دليل على الادوار والسنين والحساب، فهذه⁴⁴⁴ قسمه الخليقتين⁴⁴⁵ وكيف اخرجنا.

[27] ثم ان الله تعالى اخرج آدم السابع في اول⁴⁴⁶ الخلق السابع⁴⁴⁷ وكذلك ذريته [في] آخر الخلق⁴⁴⁸ اخرجوا الى الدنيا ودُعوا الى معرفة الله تعالى. فلما اجاب المؤمن الى معرفة الله تعالى بكلها⁴⁴⁹ [رجع]⁴⁵⁰ الى الموضع الذي كان فيه وخرج منه. ومن كان كافرا وابى المعرفة ولم يبق معه شيء من الايمان مُسَخ ما كولا مركوبا مقتولا. كل ذاك حل به لعداوته للمؤمن⁴⁵¹ يبلغه⁴⁵² الله في ذلك ما يشاء.

435 كل ذلك سبعة آلاف سنة وتسعة وتسعين. فقل ما بين قائم القيامة ان كل دور سبعة آلاف A: فقل... والقيامة سنة وستين وسبعة وستين سنة ناقص احدى وخمسين يوم وثلاث ساعات

436 الاحد . A

437 كل ... سنة. CD omit.

438 لذلك B

439 احدى CD

440 خمسين ABCD

441 احد . B.

442 خمسين AD

443 واقام لها مثلا احدى وخمسين ركعة للصلاة C: وكذلك... ركعة

444 Omit. A.

445 الخليقتين A

446 Omit. B.

447 الخلق... الخلق السابعة A: الخلق السابع

448 وكذلك... الخلق. B omit.

449 وكمالها A

450 [..]; Omit. A. B

451 المؤمنين B

452 يبلغ A

[28] حتى لا يبقى مؤمن⁴⁵³ من آدم السابع⁴⁵⁴ الا⁴⁵⁵ رقي⁴⁵⁵ في الايمان⁴⁵⁶ في الغاية حتى يصير الى⁴⁵⁷ الموضع الذي خرج منه من الجنة التي هو فيها في السماء الاولى⁴⁵⁸ السماء⁴⁵⁹ الدنيا. ثم خرج⁴⁶⁰ كيف شاء له سبعة ابدان من نور وله سبعة اغشية⁴⁶¹ من نور. وان شاء⁴⁶² حجابا يحتجب به كما يحتجب الخضر وكل مؤمن خضر⁴⁶³ وهم الابدان التي تقوم⁴⁶⁴ الارض بهم. والارض المؤمنون الذين رضوا بالله يقومون بعلم هؤلاء. [29] كذلك ابليس السابع وذريته لما ان صاروا الى⁴⁶⁵ نهاية⁴⁶⁶ الكفر ومُسَخُوا في غاية العذاب من المسوخية تركوا في الارض حتى يكونوا عبرة لمن يأتي⁴⁶⁸ بعدهم. وما توفيقي الا بالله العلي العظيم.

[30] الجزء السادس⁴⁶⁹

ولما أخرج آدم⁴⁷⁰ السادس من السماء الثانية وذريته⁴⁷² أخرج ابليس وذريته من⁴⁷³ هذه الارض الثانية. ثم [لبسوا]⁴⁷⁴ الحجب من الابدان ودُعوا الى المحتجب. فوقع التحليل والتحريم في زمن آدم الثاني. فقل: "كلوا كذا وكذا واشربوا كذا وكذا"، فصارت اشياء

453 مؤمنا A

454 ما B add.

455 صار A

456 للإيمان B

457 في B

458 للأولة B; الاولى A

459 سماء B

460 سرج؟ A

461 اغلاف B

462 انشا A

463 B [...].

464 يقوم B

465 Omit. B.

466 لا B

467 غاية B

468 Omit. A.

469 [...] B: الجزء السادس

470 [...] B

471 الى B

472 و AB add.

473 ذريته من B omit.

474 لبس AB

تَوَكَّلَ 475 وأشياء لا تَوَكَّلَ 476 وأشياء تعذَّبَ 477 وأشياء لا تعذَّبَ 478 وأشياء تُرَكِبَ 479 وأشياء لا تُرَكِبَ، 480 منها الوحوش أُعِتَّتْ 481 ومنها ما ليس له قشر.

[31] وكل ما حرم 482 في البر والبحر ان يُوَكَّلَ 483 وكل ما لم 484 يُنْتَفَع به وكل ما لم يُقْتَل مما نُهي عن قتله فهو 485 ابليس الاول وذريته الذين مُسَخُوا فحرم اكلهم وقتلهم ومنافعهم وركوبهم لانهم من اهل الدور الذين كانوا قبلهم فكانت 486 منافعهم لاولئك. ووقع التحليل فيما يوكل ويُشرب ويُنتفع به ممن اخرج من ذرية ابليس الذين مُسَخُوا. فمن اجل ذلك وقع التحريم والتحليل. 487

[32] فلم يزل كلما 488 اوفى 489 ولد آدم 490 بالايمان ردو الى موضعهم 491 الذي كانوا فيه. وكلما بلغ 492 ولد 493 الابالسة [الغاية] 494 من 495 الكفر والجحود مُسَخُوا في المعدنيات حتى يمتحن 496 [؟] هؤلاء. 497 ويرد كل آدم الى موضعه ويرد كل ابليس الى المسوخية

475 يُوَكَّلَ B

476 يُوَكَّلَ B

477 يعذَّبَ B

478 يعذَّبَ B

479 يركب B

480 يركب B

481 Omit. B.

482 ذمر A

483 تَوَكَّلَ A

484 Omit. A.

485 من A add.

486 فكانت B

487 التحليل والتحريم B: التحريم والتحليل

488 كل ما A

489 وفي B

490 Omit. A.

491 مواضعهم B

492 من B add.

493 الاولاد B

494 الذي عليه AB

495 Omit. A

496 B [...]

497 repeated twice. هؤلاء A

في الاجساد والطير وما يدب في الارض مما يكون في الارض وفي الشجر والحجر وغير ذلك.

[33] فآدمنا آدم الاول اُخرج في آخر الادوار. وابليسنا ابليس الاول⁴⁹⁸ اُخرج في⁴⁹⁹ آخر الادوار. فآدمنا خير الآدميين وذريته كذلك وابليسنا شر الالبسة وذريته كذلك. فاُخرج خير الآدميين⁵⁰⁰ مع شر الالبسة في هذا⁵⁰¹ الدور. فادرك آدمنا وهو الآدم الاول⁵⁰² ثواب الآدميين الستة وذرايهم لانه اول من اطاع⁵⁰³ الله ففُضِّل على غيره⁵⁰⁴ بايمان منه لم يكن من⁵⁰⁵ غيره.

[34] ولكن الله تعالى⁵⁰⁶ اخذ ميثاقه ثم اخذ ميثاق⁵⁰⁷ ذريته ثم اخذ ميثاق آدم الثاني وذريته لآدم الاول ولله،⁵⁰⁸ ثم اخذ ميثاق آدم الثالث وذريته لآدم الثاني⁵⁰⁹ وللاول⁵¹⁰ ولله،⁵¹¹ ثم اخذ ميثاق آدم الرابع وذريته لآدم الثالث⁵¹² والثاني وللاول ولله، ثم اخذ ميثاق آدم الخامس وذريته للرابع والثالث والثاني وللاول ولله، ثم اخذ ميثاق آدم السادس وذريته للخامس والرابع والثالث والثاني وللاول ولله، ثم اخذ ميثاق آدم السابع وذريته للسادس والخامس والرابع والثالث والثاني وللاول ولله.

498	للاول B
Omit. B.	499
المؤمنين B	500
هذ A	501
للاول B	502
المرأ؟ B	503
B add. ?	504
منه A	505
Omit. A.	506
ميثاقه ثم اخذ ميثاق B omit.	507
وذريته B	508
وذريته B add.	509
لآدم الاول B	510
Omit. B.	511
الثالث A	512

[35] وكلهم مستوون⁵¹³ في العلم⁵¹⁴ والمعرفة وانما تعرفوا⁵¹⁵ من الله من⁵¹⁶ في السموات السبع في الخلقة⁵¹⁷ الاولى⁵¹⁸ التي بعضها فوق⁵¹⁹ بعض. فلذلك كانت السبعة في الدنيا محمودَةً وصاحبها مفضل. فقال⁵²⁰ الله تعالى ﴿وَالسَّابِقُونَ السَّابِقُونَ أُولَئِكَ الْمُقَرَّبُونَ﴾⁵²¹ فعلى قدر خلقهم أسكنوا في السموات. واختلاف السموات على قدر⁵²² اختلاف خلقهم في القدم لان بعضهم اقدم من بعض. فلذلك اختلاف⁵²³ الاوقات والساعات.

[36] الجزء السابع

ضرب الله مثلاً في⁵²⁴ روح الانسان فصارت سبع درجات مع وجود⁵²⁵ ظاهرها وباطنها كما ان اهل السموات منازلهم سبع⁵²⁶ وبعضهم اعلى من بعض. لان الذي في السماء الثانية قائم بالسماء الاولى ويعرف ما فيها ، ويعرف⁵²⁷ ما في الثانية والاولى. وكذلك الذي في السماء الثالثة يعرف ما في السماء الثالثة والثانية⁵²⁸ والاولى. وكذلك الذي في السماء الرابعة قد عرف ما فيها وما⁵²⁹ في⁵³⁰ الثالثة والثانية والاولى. وكذلك اهل⁵³¹

513 مستويون A

514 الرجل B

515 يعرفون B

516 Omit. A.

517 erased in B. في الخلقة

518 الاولى AB

519 قبل B

520 قال B

521 Cor 56, 10-11.

522 قد A

523 اختطفت؟ B

524 و B

525 Omit. B.

526 سبعة B

527 Omit. A.

528 الثانية والثالثة B

529 Omit. B.

530 السماء B add.

531 الذي في B

السماة السابعة قد عرفوا⁵³² ما في السماة السابعة والسادسة والخامسة والرابعة
والثالثة والثانية والاولى. وكذلك اهل السماة الاولى لم يعرفوا ما في السماة الثانية⁵³³
والثالثة ولا الذي⁵³⁴ في السادسة عرف ما في السابعة.
[37] ذلك⁵³⁵ مثل خلقة⁵³⁶ المؤمن: الممتحن والنقيب والتجيب والمختص والمخلص
والحجاب والباب،⁵³⁷ كل واحد منهم نظر الى درجة صاحبه في العلم [والمعرفة]⁵³⁸
بالاشتياق.⁵³⁹ وقد استوا في⁵⁴⁰ معرفة الله باخذ ميثاق بعضهم البعض⁵⁴¹ في
التسليم.⁵⁴² والثواب الاول⁵⁴³ ثواب هؤلاء الستة⁵⁴⁴ الآدميين لآدمنا وهو آدم⁵⁴⁵ الاول.
فعلى هذا اخرج الخلق وعلى هذا⁵⁴⁶ اخذ ميثاقهم.

-
- 532 عرف B
533 الاولى B
534 لذى A
535 الكل A
536 وجعل الله درج الايمان سبع درجات كما ان اهل السموات منازلهم سبع وبعضهم C: خليفة; ضرب... خلقة B
وجعل الله درج الايمان سبع درجات كما ان اهل السموات ومنازلهم سبعة D; ارفع من بعض فدرج الايمان
وبعضهم اعلى من بعض فمنازل الايمان
537 والاختصاص والتجابة والنقابة والحجاية C: والنقيب... والباب
538 من معرفة B; في معرفة A
539 الافشاء B; اشتياق A
540 Omit. B.
541 لبعض A
542 كل واحد... التسليم. CD omit.
543 Omit. B.
544 كما ثواب D; كما كان ثواب C: والثواب... الستة
545 Omit. CD.
546 وعليه CD: كانوا وعلى هذا; وعلى هذا AB add

[38] وانما اختلفت درجاتهم وأنشئت⁵⁴⁷ السموات من⁵⁴⁸ بعد⁵⁴⁹ الحجاب⁵⁵⁰ وانما⁵⁵¹ كانوا في منزلة واحدة من⁵⁵² قبل ان يكون⁵⁵³ حجاب. وكذلك سبع درجات من الايمان حجب بعضهم عن⁵⁵⁴ بعض حتى يتعلموا.⁵⁵⁵ وكذلك آدم اذا تعلم وتعلم⁵⁵⁶ الآدميون الستة واولادهم ارتفعت الحجب ورجعوا الى المكان الذي كانوا⁵⁵⁷ فيه والى القدرة التي نالوها حتى [يمضوا]⁵⁵⁸ فيها ولا يحتاجوا⁵⁵⁹ الى ارض⁵⁶⁰ ولا سماء كما ان السماء قامت بقدرة الله.⁵⁶¹

[39] وكذلك⁵⁶² الالبسة في سبع درجات وسبع⁵⁶³ [هاويات]⁵⁶⁴ لكل⁵⁶⁵ ارض [هاوية]⁵⁶⁶ وعين من عين الكفر⁵⁶⁷ وعذاب⁵⁶⁸ من اجناس العذاب⁵⁶⁹ في⁵⁷⁰ اللظى⁵⁷¹

- 547 مس؟ or من B
548 وأنشئت السموات من. CD omit.
549 Omit. A.
550 الحجابية C
551 لانهم C
552 Omit. D.
553 من. C add.
554 في A
555 يعلموا B
556 وتعلم. B add.
557 الذي كانوا. A omit.
558 يقولوا B; يضموا A
559 محتاجون B
560 الارض A
561 حتى... الله. CD omit.
562 حجب D
563 سبعة AB;
564 هوائية C: هوائية; وسبعة هاويات ABD
565 في كل CD
566 هواء CD; هو B; هواء A
567 هواء درجة من درج الكفراي عين من عيون الكفر C: لكل... الكفر
568 العذاب D
569 الكفر AB; CD
570 الطبقات وهم. C add. Omit. D.
571 لظى AB; C

والسعر والنار⁵⁷² وجهنم⁵⁷³ وبرهوت والفيلق⁵⁷⁴ والساهرة. فهذه سبعة اطباق من جهنم في [هاوية]⁵⁷⁵ كل ارض.⁵⁷⁶ فابليس الاول وذريته في الساهرة ثم الثاني والثالث والرابع والخامس والسادس والسابع⁵⁷⁷ بعضهم اسفل من بعض. فضرب الله مثلاً من الظاهر بذلك لسبع من الكفر،⁵⁷⁸ وان كانوا كلهم كفروا بالله، وانما⁵⁷⁹ اشتد عذاب بعضهم لانه اسفل من بعض⁵⁸⁰ في [الهاويات]⁵⁸¹ والعذاب⁵⁸² لسبقتهم⁵⁸³ الى⁵⁸⁴ الكفر لخلقه⁵⁸⁵ بعضهم⁵⁸⁶ قبل بقض.

[40] فالدرجات في الكفر⁵⁸⁷ اسماءها⁵⁸⁸ كاسماء الدرجات في الايمان: ممتحن في الكفر ونجيب في الكفر⁵⁸⁹ وتقيب في الكفر ومختص في الكفر ومخلص في الكفر⁵⁹⁰ وحجاب في الكفر⁵⁹¹ وباب في الكفر،⁵⁹² حتى يخلص الى آخرهم،⁵⁹³ لانهم من

-
- 572 والجحيم D add.
- 573 وجهنم والنار B والنار والجهنم
- 574 وجهنم والفلق وبرهوت D; والفيلق وجهنم وبرهوت C: الفلق; وجهنم وبرهوت والفيلق BD; الغلو A; C;
- 575 هو B; هوي A
- 576 في هواء كل ارض. D omit.
- 577 فهو لاء add. فهذه سبعة اطباق من جهنم... والسابع، C omit. الى السابعة D: والثالث... والسابع
- 578 فضرب... الكفر CD omit.
- 579 فـ C
- 580 فضرب... بعض B omit.
- 581 الاهوية AB
- 582 لانه... والعذاب CD omit.
- 583 مستقيم CD; AB
- 584 في C
- 585 وخلق C; وخلق B; وخلق AD; C
- 586 بعضا C
- 587 omit. AB. في النار C; D: في الكفر
- 588 اسماء لهؤلاء C
- 589 omit. D. ونجيب في الكفر
- 590 ومخلص في الكفر B omit.
- 591 ومختص... الكفر D omit.
- 592 ومختص ونجيب وتقيب وباب وحجاب في الكفر C: وباب في الكفر; ونجيب... الكفر B omit.
- 593 لآخرهم B

شيء واحد ظهروا. إنما اختلفت⁵⁹⁴ الدرجات ليخرج الدور⁵⁹⁵ سواءً ويخرج الوقت سواءً⁵⁹⁶ [؟]. وإنما ابتلي المؤمنون بالكافرين⁵⁹⁷ حتى يستقصي المؤمنون الصبر في الله كما يستقصي الكافرون الكفر⁵⁹⁸ بالله⁵⁹⁹ حتى لا يبقى شيء من العذاب إلا ناله الكافرون⁶⁰⁰ ولا يبقى شيء من الثواب إلا ناله المؤمنون.⁶⁰¹

[41] فاخراج⁶⁰² المؤمن والكافر واحد⁶⁰³ على عددهم. وإنما صار المؤمنون قليلاً⁶⁰⁴ والكافرون كثيراً⁶⁰⁵ لأن المؤمن يرد إلى مكانه⁶⁰⁶ والكافر يرد إلى الأرض⁶⁰⁷ فكثروا⁶⁰⁸ الكافرون وقل⁶⁰⁹ المؤمنون⁶¹⁰ وإن كان المؤمنون⁶¹¹ أكثر من الكافرين بجزء⁶¹² واحد لأن الجنة لها ثمانية أبواب ولجهنم⁶¹³ ﴿سَبْعَةُ أَبْوَابٍ لِّكُلِّ بَابٍ مِنْهُمْ جُزْءٌ مَّقْسُومٌ﴾⁶¹⁴،

594	خلقت	A
595	الدرجات	A
596	سوى	B
597	بالكفر	A
598	الكفر	B omit.
599	في الله	A
600	الكفر	A
601	ولا يبقى... المؤمنون	A omit.; المؤمن A
602	باخراج	B
603	واخراجهم	Omit. B; AB add.
604	قلائل	C
605	كثُر	C
606	المؤمنين يردون إلى أماكنهم في السماء ونعيم الصفاء	C: مقامه; المؤمن... مكانه A
607	[...]: B والكافر يرد إلى	
608	والكافرون يردون إلى المسخ والشقاء	C: والكافر... الأرض
609	قال	B
610	فكثروا الكافرون وقل المؤمنون	CD omit.
611	وإن المؤمنين في يوم الذر وكانوا	C: وإن كان المؤمنون
612	بحرف	BCD; A
613	النار لها	B

614 Cor 15, 44.

فلذلك اجر المؤمنين أكثر من اجر⁶¹⁵ الكافرين بجزء⁶¹⁶ حتى يرد جميع الحجب فتلبسها⁶¹⁷ الارواح التي خلقت بها فيصبرونهم⁶¹⁸ الى العذاب فيعذب بعضهم ببعض.

[42] والمؤمنون ليس يشيب⁶¹⁹ الله بعضهم ببعض ولكن يخلق لهم من حسناتهم⁶²⁰ ثوابهم فينعمون به⁶²¹ كما سرّوا الله بطاعته سرّهم وكما⁶²² تقربوا منه قرّبهم وكما طلبوا له من بين حجبه حتى عرفوه⁶²³ انقذهم الله من الهلكة. وكذلك خلق من الحجب ارواحهم⁶²⁴ ثم⁶²⁵ ان الله خلق من زلة⁶²⁶ المؤمنين⁶²⁷ من كل زلة⁶²⁸ سبعة⁶²⁹ حجب⁶³⁰ للمؤمن وسبعة للكافر⁶³¹ وحجبه⁶³² وحجابه⁶³³ انشأ الله⁶³⁴ الكافر⁶³⁵ في الحجب واولاد الابالسة⁶³⁶ وانشأ⁶³⁷ المؤمنين⁶³⁸ على غير حجب.

- 615 من اجر. B omit.
- 616 بحرف A
- 617 فتسلمها A
- 618 وهم AB add; فتصبرونهم A
- 619 يشب A
- 620 حسابهم B
- 621 Omit. B.
- 622 ولا A
- 623 عرفوه B
- 624 فلذلك... ارواحهم. CD omit. خلق الحجب من ارواحهم B: خلق... ارواحهم
- 625 Omit. B.
- 626 ذلة C
- 627 حجباً سبعة والكافرون سبعة حجب. C add. المؤمن B
- 628 من كل زلة. CD omit.
- 629 سبع D
- 630 وسبعة سبعة B add; سبعة حجب A add
- 631 سبع حجب للمؤمنين وسبع D; حجباً سبعة والكافرون سبعة حجب C: سبعة حجب... للكافر; الكافر B
- حجب للكافرين
- 632 وحجب B
- 633 وحجبه وحجابه. CD omit.
- 634 وحجابه انشأ الله. B omit.
- 635 الكافرين CD
- 636 واولاد الابالسة. D omit.
- 637 اولاد... وانشأ. C omit.
- 638 المؤمنون A

[43] فهو قوله: ﴿مَا أَشْهَدُتُهُمْ⁶³⁹ خَلَقَ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ وَلَا خَلَقَ أَنْفُسَهُمْ وَمَا كُنْتُ مُتَّخِذَ الْمُضِلِّينَ عَضْداً﴾. ⁶⁴⁰ يقول: "خلق" ⁶⁴¹ الحجب التي احتجب بها، "والارض"، يقول "خلق" ⁶⁴² المؤمنين، "ولا خلق" ⁶⁴³ انفسهم" يعني "وقد اشهدت المؤمن خلق السموات والارض"، —⁶⁴⁴ يقول "خلق حجبى وحجبهم"، —"وخلق انفسهم بالحجاب الاول العلي الذي يتنافسون فيه دون الحجب"، وقد اتخذهم عضدا ولم يتخذ ⁶⁴⁵ الابالسة عضدا. والعضد في هذا الموضع ⁶⁴⁶ يقول "اتخذتهم سترا دون الكافرين". ⁶⁴⁷

[44] ثم انه ⁶⁴⁸ لم يبق كافر ⁶⁴⁹ الا وقد خلق الله ⁶⁵⁰ له سبعة ⁶⁵¹ حجب من حجب الانسانية ⁶⁵² ولم يبق مؤمن ⁶⁵³ الا وقد خلق له سبعة ⁶⁵⁴ حجب ⁶⁵⁵ من حجب الانسانية. ⁶⁵⁶ وكذلك الرب اتخذ سبعة ⁶⁵⁷ حجب وهي السبعة ⁶⁵⁸ الادميين ⁶⁵⁹ ولكل آدم

- 639 خلق انفسهم. A add.
 640 الى ما اشهدتهم بمعرفتي ولا عضدتهم في هول الابالسة فاشهدتهم السموات والارض. B add.; Cor 18, 51;
 641 فالسموات هي C: يقول خلق
 642 ابدان C: يقول خلق
 643 والخلق C: ولا خلق
 644 ذلك C: السموات والارض
 645 اتخذ B
 646 يقول... الموضع. D omit.
 647 ويقول C: يقول لم اتخذ الابالسة سترا وانما اتخذ المؤمنين سترا; يعني... الكافرين D: يقول... الكافرين ارواحهم من الحجب وقد شهد المؤمنون خلق ذلك وما كنت متخذ المضلين عضدا. يقول: لم اتخذ الابالسة سترا
 648 و D; اذ C: ثم انه
 649 كافرا CD; AB
 650 Omit. CD.
 651 سبع D
 652 سبعة من الحجب الانسانية AB; D: سبعة... الانسانية
 653 مؤمنا C; ABD
 654 سبع D
 655 Omit. C.
 656 D; omit. AB: ولم يبق... الانسانية
 657 سبع D
 658 سبعة C
 659 الاوادم C; كل آدم حجاب B add.; لكل آدم حجاب A add.; الادميون B

سبعة حجب. فلذلك⁶⁶⁰ تسعة واربعون⁶⁶¹ حجابا⁶⁶² احتجب الله بها سوى الحجاب
الاعلى، فذلك⁶⁶³ خمسون حجابا. وذلك تفسير الخمسين الركعة⁶⁶⁴. ثم ان⁶⁶⁵
الابالسة⁶⁶⁶ لكل⁶⁶⁷ ابليس⁶⁶⁸ سبعة⁶⁶⁹ حجب فذلك⁶⁷⁰ تسعة واربعون⁶⁷¹ حجابا في
دور كل آدم⁶⁷². يقول لكل⁶⁷³ ابليس سبعة حجب⁶⁷⁴ في كل دور ولا يحتجب بغيرها ولا
يرد الا⁶⁷⁵ الى النار. ومن هذه الحجب التي خلقت من معصية المؤمنين⁶⁷⁶ قد لبسها⁶⁷⁷
المؤمنون.⁶⁷⁸

[45] وليس صور⁶⁷⁹ ارواح المؤمنين والكافرين⁶⁸⁰ سواء لان صورة روح⁶⁸¹ الكافر على
قدر كل بدن يركب⁶⁸² فيه فينقلب على صورة البدن،⁶⁸³ فانما⁶⁸⁴ كانوا ماسخين. كانوا

-
- 660 وقد صارت الحجب C
661 اربعين ACD
662 حجاب D
663 فيكون C
664 تفسيره خمسون ركعة D; تفسيره خمسون C: وذلك تفسير... الركعة
665 Omit. A.
666 ثم ان الابالسة. CD omit.
667 ولعل C
668 Omit. A.
669 سبع D
670 فلذلك A; D Omit.
671 فيكون تسعة واربعين C: اربعين; فذلك تسعة واربعون A
672 في دور آدم CD; في كل دور آدم B; في كل دور آدم سوى الحجاب A: في دور كل آدم
673 فكل B
674 crossed out. تسعة واربعون A
675 Omit. B.
676 الآدميين A
677 فلبسها A
678 يقول... المؤمنون. CD omit.
679 صورة A
680 ليست C add.
681 ارواح A
682 نزلت CD
683 فنقلب صورته على البدن CD: فينقلب... البدن
684 وقد C

في 685 الناس وانما 686 صاروا مسوخا حين 687 صارت ابدانهم ابدان المسوخ. فكيف ما
انقلب البدن انقلبت 688 الروح 689 فكذلك صارت ارواحهم ثلاثة 690 آلاف صورة، 691
صورة ما يموت فيها وصورة ما يُقتل فيها وصورة ما يُذبح فيها: الف موة 693 والف قتلة
والف ذبحة 694—فنعوذ بالله من عذابه. 695 والمؤمنون 696 خلقوا على 697 صورة واحدة
وهي الصورة 698 الانسانية كما صورها الرب، 699 لن ينتقلوا 700 عنها ابدان ولن يركبوا الا
في صورهم. 701

[46] فكذلك 702 قال الله تعالى ﴿سَوَاءٌ مَّحْيَاهُمْ وَمَمَاتُهُمْ﴾ 703 في 704 انفسهم، يقول
اهل الايمان على صورة واحدة واما الكافرون 705 على صور 706 مختلفة. ومماتهم،
يقول الممات ممات المؤمن، على 707 درجة [من] 708 الانسانية اذ هو مردود عليها.

685 كانوا اناسا حين كانوا في ابدان D: كانوا ماسخين. كانوا في

686 قد C

687 حتى A

688 انقلب AB; CD

689 معه C add.

690 ثلاثة A

691 وكذلك ارواحهم قلبت D: تنقلب في الصور; فكذلك صارت... صورة C; B: Omit. ثلاثة آلاف صورة

692 صورة ما D omit.

693 [؟] B

694 فصورة يموت فيها وصورة يذبح فيها ويذوق الف قتلة والف ذبحة والف موة C: صورة ما... ذبحة

695 عذاب الله AB; CD

696 المؤمنين D

697 مثل C add.

698 صورة D

699 على صورة الرب AB; CD: كما صورها الرب

700 لن ينفكوا B; ليس ينفكوا A; لم ينتقلوا C; D: لن ينتقلوا

701 omit. D. الى ان يرقوا الى النورانية C: ولن... صورهم

702 فذلك CD

703 Cor 45, 21.

704 سواء AB; CD

705 الكافر A

706 صورة B

707 ممات المؤمن على B omit.

708 على AB

والكافر روحه⁷⁰⁹ روح المسوخ فاذا⁷¹⁰ رد اليها. قال الله سبحانه⁷¹¹ ﴿سَوَاءٌ مَّحْيَاهُمْ وَمَمَاتُهُمْ﴾⁷¹² ثم اتبع الآية⁷¹³ فقال ﴿سَاءَ مَا يَحْكُمُونَ﴾⁷¹⁴ اي المؤمن ليس مثل الكافر لان الكافر قد كفر بالله وجهله والمؤمن قد عرف الله وعقله،⁷¹⁵ فلا يكون المؤمن مثل الكافر.⁷¹⁶

[47] وكذلك⁷¹⁷ على⁷¹⁸ قلب المؤمن [سبعة]⁷¹⁹ حجب،⁷²⁰ الشك والتشكك والكذب والتكذيب و⁷²¹الظن والتظنين و[الوديعة]⁷²²، يقول الحجاب الذي لا⁷²³ ايمان فيه ولا كفر بقلب⁷²⁴ المؤمن.⁷²⁵ وكل ما⁷²⁶ عند⁷²⁷ المؤمن من⁷²⁸ تكذيب الصادقين⁷²⁹ وجهل المرسلين⁷³⁰ والتوهم على الله وعلى اوليائه بالكذب فهو⁷³¹ على سبيل الجهل⁷³² لا

709 فروحه B

710 فالكافر B

711 تع B

712 ومماتهم B omit.

713 قوله B

714 Cor 45, 21.

715 Omit. A.

716 يقول اهل... الكافر. D omit.; ولن... الكافر. C omit.

717 ذلك ان D

718 لان C: وكذلك على

719 سبع AB

720 من CD: سبع حجب

721 في A

722 والحيرة. C add.; الوقعة B; والوقفة A

723 ولا A: الذي لا

724 بلى قلب D; على قلت B; بل تكبت A; C

725 C; Omit. AB.

726 كان D add.

727 وكل ما عند B omit.

728 عن A

729 الصادق B

730 omit. CD. وفي رد وجهل المرسلين B add.; فيه A add.

731 التوهم عليه على اوليائه B: والتوهم عليه وعلى اوليائه الكذب والكفر على اوليائهم A; CD: والتوهم... فهو

الكذب والكفر لا وليائه

732 المجهل B

على⁷³³ سبيل المعاندة. فهو من الحجب التي⁷³⁴ على قلب المؤمن. ثم يصير المؤمن الى اليقين⁷³⁵ والى الايمان⁷³⁶ اذا تكشفت تلك⁷³⁷ الحجب.⁷³⁸

[48] وانما⁷³⁹ صار بعض المؤمنين اعلى درجة من بعض في الفهم والمعرفة⁷⁴⁰ اذا رُفِع عنه من الحجب⁷⁴¹ أكثر مما⁷⁴² رُفِع عن صاحبه. فربما خلا شيء من الحق عنده و⁷⁴³[جازا] حجب الشك والكذب والكفر⁷⁴⁴ حتى يبلغ⁷⁴⁵ حجاب [الوديعة]⁷⁴⁶ ولا يجوز⁷⁴⁷ الى القلب.⁷⁴⁸ وعلامة ذلك ان⁷⁴⁹ الرجل يقف بالشيء⁷⁵⁰ اذا سمعه⁷⁵¹ فيقول: "لا⁷⁵² ادري احق هو ام⁷⁵³ باطل". فما⁷⁵⁴ السامع⁷⁵⁵ من الاظلة.⁷⁵⁶ فلو خرق⁷⁵⁷ ذلك الحجاب⁷⁵⁸ لكان

- 733 سبيل الجهل لاعلى. C omit.
- 734 وهذا من الحجاب الذي C: فهو... التي; الذي D
- 735 الصيرة CD
- 736 ويقول. B add.
- 737 Omit. A.
- 738 انكشف ذلك الحجاب عنه CD: تكشفت تلك الحجب
- 739 A add. تلك (marginalia).
- 740 Omit. A.
- 741 الحجاب D; من الحجاب C: من الحجب
- 742 ما AB
- 743 عند من B: عنده و
- 744 فربما... والكفر. Omit. B; CD omit.
- 745 الى C add.
- 746 الرفعة CD; الرفيعة B; الوثيقة A
- 747 و A add.
- 748 C; omit. D. وقرب أو ان صفاته C: ولا... القلب
- 749 B لمن; omit. D.
- 750 في الشيء C; ABD
- 751 ان اسمعه B: اذا سمعه
- 752 ما CD
- 753 Omit. B.
- 754 مما A
- 755 للسابع A
- 756 فما... الاظلة. CD omit.
- 757 رفع D; كان رقي C
- 758 عنه CD add.

اما يقبل⁷⁵⁹ واما يجحد لانه⁷⁶⁰ كان⁷⁶¹ يصل الى القلب. فان كان قلبه يقبل فهو مؤمن وان⁷⁶² كان⁷⁶³ يجحد فهو كافر.⁷⁶⁴ لان الشيء لا يصل الى القلب الا وهو ايمان او كفر، حق او باطل. فان كان القلب⁷⁶⁵ مؤمنا قبل الايمان و⁷⁶⁶ الحجة وان كان القلب كافرا قبل الكفر والكذب ولا يقبل⁷⁶⁷ شيئا يرجع عنه⁷⁶⁹ ابدا.⁷⁷⁰

[49] فقال الله تعالى: ﴿فَمُسْتَقَرٍّ وَمُسْتَوْدَعٍ﴾⁷⁷¹ يعني قلوب المؤمنين⁷⁷² لما⁷⁷³ استقر الايمان فيها. وهو ما⁷⁷⁴ يستقر⁷⁷⁵ في القلب مما لا⁷⁷⁶ يرجع عنه ابدا، مثل قول القائل: "استقرت⁷⁷⁷ به الدار واستقر به القرار". يقول ليس بعد قبول القلب شيئا يرجع عنه ابدا.⁷⁷⁸ واما⁷⁷⁹ المستودع فهي⁷⁸⁰ الحجب كما انها توجد⁷⁸¹ بوجود ما فيها⁷⁸² وكما ان القلب⁷⁸³ يترك ما فيها.

759 يتقبل A

760 قد CD add.

761 Omit. B.

762 ولو B

763 قلبه B add.

764 فان قبل القلب كان مؤمنا وان جحد كان كافرا CD: فان... كافر

765 Omit. B.

766 Omit. B.

767 لم B

768 الطلب B add.

769 عليه A

770 لان... ابدا CD omit.

771 الى حين. Cor 6, 98; AB add.

772 مؤمنون A

773 مما D; فلما C; بما A

774 مما C

775 استكن D; سكن C; يسكن A

776 لن B

777 استقر B

778 مما... ابدا CD omit.

779 فاما B; omit. C.

780 فهو A

781 يوجد A

782 والمستودع فهي الحجب فكما D; والمستودع هو الحجاب وكما انه من الحجب يؤخذ ما فيها C: واما... فيها انها يؤخذ ما فيها

783 الصواب CD

[50] ولو ان قلب المؤمن⁷⁸⁴ اعتقد كفر⁷⁸⁵ ما آمن⁷⁸⁶ ابدأ ولو ان قلب الكافر⁷⁸⁷ اعتقد
 ايمانا ما كفر ابدأ.⁷⁸⁸ فما كان في الكافر⁷⁸⁹ من خير او صلاح او تصديق⁷⁹¹ فذلك⁷⁹² من
 الوديعه التي في الحجب. فاذا جحد⁷⁹³ الحجب⁷⁹⁴ جحد⁷⁹⁵ ما فيها⁷⁹⁶ حتى يبقى قلب
 الكافر بكفر محض⁷⁹⁷ لا خير فيه⁷⁹⁸ ويبقى قلب المؤمن بايمان محض لا⁷⁹⁹ كفر فيه.⁸⁰⁰
 [51] واذا⁸⁰¹ اخذت الودائع والحجب⁸⁰² بقي⁸⁰³ الاستقرار⁸⁰⁴ في القلب. فالمؤمن مؤمن
 من حيث خلقه الله والكافر كافر من حيث خلقه الله.⁸⁰⁵ واما الودائع فتزد مع هذا علة⁸⁰⁶
 في الكافر، يكون مؤمنا فيكفر او⁸⁰⁷ يكون كافرا فيؤمن، او يكون عالما فينسى علمه⁸⁰⁸

784 القلب CD: قلب المؤمن

785 |...|; A كفر; D

786 امن CD; AB

787 انه D: كافرا; ان قلب الكافر A

788 ولو ان القلب اعتقد ايمانا ما كفر ابدأ ولو انه اعتقد كفر ما آمن ابدأ C: ولو... ابدأ

789 من الكافر D; من الكافرين C: في الكافر

790 و C

791 omit. CD: او تصديق

792 فهو C

793 اخذت CD; AB

794 و B add.; الحجاب CD

795 اخذ ABCD

796 فيه CD

797 محضا CD; محض كفر B: بكفر محض

798 معه AD

799 خير... لا C omit.

800 لا كفر فيه D omit.; معه AB; C

801 اذا AB omit.; فاذا D; C

802 الوديعه والحجاب C: الودائع والحجب

803 omit. B. وهي; AB CD

804 فلاستقراري B

805 والكافر... الله A omit.

806 عليه B

807 و B

808 Omit. B.

او يكون جاهلا فيعلم.⁸⁰⁹ فكل⁸¹⁰ ما جاز⁸¹¹ عليه⁸¹² الزوال فهو من الحجب وكل ما لم
يجز⁸¹³ عليه الزوال⁸¹⁴ فهو⁸¹⁵ من الذات⁸¹⁶ التي خلقها⁸¹⁷ الله فهو يتعقد⁸¹⁸ عليه الايمان
والكفر.⁸¹⁹

[52] وكذا⁸²⁰ قال الله تعالى: ﴿لَا يُؤَاخِذُكُمُ اللَّهُ بِاللَّغْوِ فِي أَيْمَانِكُمْ وَلَكِنْ يُؤَاخِذُكُمْ بِمَا
عَقَّدْتُمْ⁸²¹ بِهِ قُلُوبَكُمْ﴾.⁸²² وقال تعالى: ﴿إِلَّا مَنْ أَكْرَهَ⁸²³ وَقَلْبُهُ مُطْمَئِنٌّ بِالْإِيمَانِ﴾.⁸²⁴
فجعل الله الغاية عقد القلب وجعل [الذات]⁸²⁵ يذهب ما يكون في الحجب. والاستقرار
ما يوافق الجنس اذا⁸²⁶ كان المخلوق مؤمنا او كافرا.⁸²⁷ على هذا الشيء الخلق.⁸²⁸

[53] ولكل مؤمن⁸²⁹ سبعة ابدان من نور⁸³⁰ في كل سماء بدن. والبدن في الجنة على
صورة المؤمن يعرف في السماء بصورته⁸³¹ كما يعرف في الارض بصورته. وفي كل⁸³²

809 فالمؤمن... فيعلم. CD omit.

810 كل CD; AB

811 حان D; جار A

812 من C

813 يخول؟ B; يجز A

814 فهو... الزوال. CD omit.

815 Omit. B.

816 الكلبي add. B; الذوات C

817 خلقه B

818 تعتقد A

819 Omit. B.

820 كذلك B

821 عقدت A

822 The initial part of the verse is from Cor 5, 89 and 2, 225, which are identical; it ends, however, with a mixture of both.

823 أكن B

824 Cor 16, 106.

825 [...] الذ B; والذ A

826 اذ B

827 كافر B

828 وكذا... الخلق. CD omit.

829 للمؤمنين D; والمؤمن C: ولكل مؤمن

830 هي C add

831 بصورة B

832 ارض add. A

جنة عين.⁸³³ وللكافر سبعة ابدان من الظلمة في كل [هاوية]⁸³⁴ ارض⁸³⁵ بدن، وفي كل [هاوية]⁸³⁶ ارض⁸³⁷ طبق⁸³⁸ من اطباق جهنم من العذاب⁸³⁹ على صورة الكافر، حتى⁸⁴⁰ يُعرف الكافر من الكافر⁸⁴¹ [في] الارواح⁸⁴² مثل ما يعرف في الدنيا. [54] وفي كل طبق من اطباق النار سبعة اعين للكافر في النار مثل ما للمؤمن سبعة اعين⁸⁴³ في الجنة سواء.⁸⁴⁴ تلك قدرة الله⁸⁴⁵ قبل ان يتوالد⁸⁴⁶ الخلق. فمكثوا في ذلك⁸⁴⁷ احدى⁸⁴⁸ وخمسين الف سنة ثم ان الله انشأهم على المواليد فتوالدوا فامتزجت الابدان⁸⁴⁹ التي كانت من وُلد المؤمن. فجعلها الله نطقا في اصلاص الكافرين والمؤمنين ثم جعل [النطق]⁸⁵⁰ في الارحام وخلق بعضها من بعض فنقلها⁸⁵¹ من نطفة الى علقه ومن علقه⁸⁵² الى مضغة ثم خلقا⁸⁵³ آخر على ما كان قبل الحجاب⁸⁵⁴ الاول الذي خلقه.⁸⁵⁵

- 833 وفي... عين. CD omit.
 834 هوأ ABC
 835 و C add.
 836 هوأ ABC
 837 و C add.; الارض B
 838 وطقة C
 839 في... العذاب D omit.

- 840 Omit. A.
 841 Omit. B.
 842 A marginalia.
 843 Omit. A.

- 844 حتى... سواء. CD omit.
 845 القادر. C add.
 846 يتولد A
 847 في ذلك A omit.
 848 احد AD
 849 وتمازجوا في الابدان C: فامتزجت الابدان
 850 النطفة B; النطق A
 851 فينقلها A
 852 ومن علقه. A omit.
 853 خلق A
 854 للحجاب B
 855 الله B add.

[55] فلذلك⁸⁵⁶ يشته⁸⁵⁷ على الناس مواليد المؤمنين والكافرين ، لان الصورة واحدة والجنس واحد والنقل في الارحام واحد⁸⁵⁸ والنطفة واحدة ، وهي من جنس واحد⁸⁵⁹ وهي الحجب. لان الله تعالى⁸⁶⁰ فضل المؤمنين على الكافرين في مواليدهم.⁸⁶¹

[56] وذلك ان المؤمن اذا اراد الله ان يخرج الى الدنيا امر ملكا فزجره⁸⁶² زجرة⁸⁶³ حتى يخرج⁸⁶⁴ راسه وفيه سمعه وبصره. فيأخذ الملك روح المؤمن فيقول⁸⁶⁵ للروح "هذا حجابك الذي وافقت⁸⁶⁶ الله عليه فأدخل فيه". فيدخل المؤمن طوعا والعلامة في ذلك ان مولد المؤمن حين يولد يتحرك⁸⁶⁷ ويشخص⁸⁶⁸ حتى يقولوا: "قد مات ولا يصرخ ولا يبكي". فاذا تغيب⁸⁶⁹ الملائكة من بين عينيه والارواح التي⁸⁷⁰ كان يأنس بها بكى واضطرب.⁸⁷¹ وانما جعل القماط لئلا يفسد حجاب به لان حجاب به رطب⁸⁷² تفسده⁸⁷³ الحركة.

[57] الجزء الثامن

-
- 856 ولذلك B
 857 تشبه B; ينشئه A
 858 واحد في الارواح: B في... واحد
 859 وهي... واحد. A omit.
 860 تع A
 861 المؤمن... مولده A
 862 بزجره A
 863 فيخرج A add.
 864 فيخرج B
 865 الملك B add.
 866 وافقت B
 867 المؤمن طوعا... يتحرك. B omit.
 868 يشخص A
 869 تغيب B
 870 الذي B
 871 انصرف B
 872 يطلب B; repeated twice رطب A
 873 لفسده B

فيستعمل⁸⁷⁴ [القماط]⁸⁷⁵ فلذلك [يكثر]⁸⁷⁶ الصبي⁸⁷⁷ من الغم والهم.⁸⁷⁸ فكذلك صار⁸⁷⁹
 الصبيان يطلبون الصفرة⁸⁸⁰ والحمرة والاصباغ وكل شيء⁸⁸¹ حسن يلهون به. ولذلك⁸⁸²
 جعلت الطفولية⁸⁸³ سبع سنين لينسى⁸⁸⁴ ما كان فيه كله.
 [58] ولو ذكر ما⁸⁸⁵ كان فيه تقطع قلبه حسرات ولم يهنأ بما هو⁸⁸⁶ فيه⁸⁸⁷ كالرجل يكون
 في النعمة ثم يفتقر ويصيبه الجهد [فيتقطع]⁸⁸⁸ قلبه على تلك النعمة حسرات لا ينفعه
 صلواته ولا⁸⁸⁹ صومه ويستصغر كل ما هو فيه فلا يجد له حلاوة⁸⁹⁰ حتى ان الرجل يقول:
 "لو نسيت⁸⁹¹ ما كنت فيه من النعمة حتى لا اعلم". فكذلك⁸⁹² أنسي⁸⁹³ المؤمن كل ما كان
 فيه من النعمة⁸⁹⁴ في الجنة،⁸⁹⁵ وانما ابى الله ان يذكرها [للعلة]⁸⁹⁶ التي وصفناها.

874 فيستغل؟ B

875 بالقماط AB

876 كثر B; Omit. A

877 للصبي A

878 الهم والغم B: من الغم والهم

879 Omit. A.

880 بالصفرة A

881 فكل B

882 ايضاً B add.

883 [...]الطفو B

884 لينس B

885 بما A

886 A marginalia.

887 تقطع... بما فيه B omit.

888 فينقطع AB

889 لا B omit.

890 حلوة A

891 ان كنت؟ B

892 فذلك B

893 الشيء B

894 النعمان B

895 في الجنة. B omit.

896 العلة AB

[59] فاذا اراد المؤمن ان يموت جعله⁸⁹⁷ الله بدنا مختلطاً بآبدان حتى يلحقه نطفة⁸⁹⁸ في صلب رجل. ثم تجلب⁸⁹⁹ النطفة⁹⁰⁰ حلالاً في رحم المرأة ثم [تنشأ]⁹⁰¹ النطفة علقة ثم مضغة ثم عظماً ولحماً وعروفاً وضروب ذلك. فلا يزال في الرحم على تلك الحال. [60] فاذا بقي⁹⁰² في⁹⁰³ مقامها في الرحم⁹⁰⁴ اربعين⁹⁰⁵ يوماً قبض الله روح المؤمن وعليها حجاب من حجب الكفر والشك والكذب. [فيوفي]⁹⁰⁶ به الى [السما]ء⁹⁰⁷ الدنيا الى الجنة وفيها عين يقال لها عين الحياة. [فيغسل]⁹⁰⁸ فيها ويقال له: "لا تمت"⁹⁰⁹ في المسوخية ابداً بعد هذا". ثم يغمس فيها غمسة فيذهب فيه⁹¹⁰ حجاب الكفر ويبقى له ستة حجب ستة⁹¹¹ آبدان، فليس البدن النوراني⁹¹² الذي له في السماء الاولى في الجنة. [61] وللارواح شجرة على تلك العين وفي اصل⁹¹³ تلك الشجرة اسرة يتكى⁹¹⁴ عليها فيتزوج⁹¹⁵ وينسى ما مر به في⁹¹⁶ تلك الدنيا من البؤس. فاذا كان يوم الاربعين قد [بدل]⁹¹⁷ الله البدن خلقاً آخر⁹¹⁸ في هذه الاربعين يوماً وهو قوله ﴿وَأَعَدْنَا مُوسَى ثَلَاثِينَ لَيْلَةً

897 جعل A

898 Omit. B.

899 لحسن؟ B

900 في الرجل حتى تلاقها. A add.

901 ينشئ B؛ ينسي A

902 تقى B

903 من B

904 في الرحم. A omit.

905 حتى يلقها [؟] اربعون B

906 فيتولى B؛ فيتوفى A

907 السخاء؟ B؛ سؤسا؟ A

908 فيعمل AB

909 نمت A

910 غشي A

911 لسبعة B

912 النور A

913 اصله A

914 تكى A

915 فيتزوج B

916 من B

917 ترك B؛ نزل A

918 سوا B

وَأَتَمُّنَاهَا بِعَشْرِ قَتَمٍ مِيقَاتُ رَبِّهِ أَرْبَعِينَ لَيْلَةً ﴿٩١٩﴾ وهي الأربعون التي يخلص⁹²⁰ الروح من البدن بها.⁹²¹

[62] فإذا كان في ذلك الوقت يعرج به إلى الله ينظر⁹²² إلى النعيم⁹²³ الذي في السماء الثانية والثالثة والرابعة والخامسة والسادسة والسابعة فيتمنى⁹²⁴ الروح أن يسكنها الله في المواضع⁹²⁵ التي قرت بها. فيقول الله تعالى: "تم ميقاتي حتى اسكنتك هذه المساكن". فيهون على الروح ما يمر بها في هذه الدنيا من البلاء عندما رأت⁹²⁶ من النعيم ما سرها.⁹²⁷ [63] فتخرج من الجنة خوفاً⁹²⁸ وطمعا في الثواب الذي لم تنله⁹²⁹ و⁹³⁰ المساكن التي في السماء. فتولد⁹³¹ في الثانية⁹³² على ما تولد⁹³³ في الأولى حتى تولد⁹³⁴ سبع مرات [وتسلك]⁹³⁵ في سبعة أبدان. و⁹³⁶ يغسل⁹³⁷ عنه سبعة⁹³⁸ حجب ويغسل⁹³⁹ في سبعة أعين. فإذا فعلت⁹⁴⁰ ذلك⁹⁴¹ أدت⁹⁴² ما عليها.

919 Cor 7, 142.

920 يختص B
921 بها الروح من البدن B: الروح... بها
922 فتتمنى B; فنظر A
923 إلى النعيم B omit.
924 فيمني A
925 الموضع A
926 راق B
927 ما سرها B omit.
928 طوعا B
929 يرجو أن تنال B: لم تنله; وتناله وتنال A add.

930 Omit. A.

931 يولد A
932 الثالث B
933 يولد A
934 يولد A
935 ويسلك A omit.; يسلك B
936 أو A
937 يفسد؟ B
938 سبع B

939 B [...]

940 فعل A
941 ذات A
942 أذني A

[64] وجميع ذلك الف سنة في هذه السبعة الابدان. وهي مسخ⁹⁴³ ليدركها⁹⁴⁴ المؤمن اولها وآخرها ويدرك ثوابها ، ويدرك الكافر اول [المسألة]⁹⁴⁵ وآخرها ويدرك العذاب.⁹⁴⁶ فيكون منه الكور⁹⁴⁷ الكبير تسع مائة الف الف الف وسبعة آلاف ومائتي الف. والكور الصغير وهو ثلاث مائة وستين الف يكون الف الف الف وخمسمائة الف وعشرون الف.

[65] واما مولد الكافر فيخرج الله⁹⁴⁸ بدنه ثم يخلطه فيجعله⁹⁴⁹ نطفة في صلب رجل فلا يخرجها ابدا في رحم المرأة الا على⁹⁵⁰ غير حق. فذلك⁹⁵¹ علامة النطفة⁹⁵² والنكاح لان المؤمن لا يكون الا بحدود⁹⁵³ الحل والكافر لغير حل. فاذا وقعت النطفة في رحم⁹⁵⁴ المرأة التي غير حق⁹⁵⁵ لخروج نفس الكافر التي يريد⁹⁵⁶ ان يجعل تلك النطفة بدنا له.

[66] فيذهب بها الى [هاوية]⁹⁵⁷ الارض الاولى الى طبق من اطباق العذاب. وفي [تلك]⁹⁵⁸ [الهاوية]⁹⁵⁹ عين وعلى تلك العين شجرة. فيغمس في تلك العين غمسة⁹⁶⁰ فيغسل عنه حجاب الايمان فيبقى له ستة حجب⁹⁶¹ [فستة]⁹⁶² ابدان فيعذب⁹⁶³ في ذلك الطبق اربعين يوما حتى تصير النطفة علقة.

943 تسج؟ B

944 ليدر A

945 المسلة AB

946 فيكون... الف B omit. عقابها B

947 الكون A

948 الله B omit.

949 Omit. A.

950 الى B

951 فذلك A

952 النطق A

953 Omit. B.

954 Omit. B.

955 التي... حق A omit.

956 يراد B

957 هواء AB

958 ذلك AB

959 هواء AB

960 Omit. B.

961 Omit. A.

962 فسقة؟ Omit. A; B

963 سعدت B

[67] ثم تحلمه الملائكة فتأتي به إلى⁹⁶⁴ الرحم فتسجنه⁹⁶⁵ فيه فيكون طعامه وشرابه في العذرة والبول. فلا يزال في الرحم تسعة أشهر⁹⁶⁶ أربعين يوماً ثم يأتيه⁹⁶⁷ ملك عند مولده فيزجره زجرة⁹⁶⁸ فيخرج مارجا⁹⁶⁹ فيصرخ ويبكي.⁹⁷⁰

[68] كل ذلك يتوهم⁹⁷¹ أن الملك يريد أن يرده إلى العذاب الذي كان فيه أربعين يوماً. ثم⁹⁷² يقع فيطمئن⁹⁷³ نفسه وترجع⁹⁷⁴ إليه ويعلل⁹⁷⁵ بالأشياء الحسنة⁹⁷⁶ ما دام طفلاً⁹⁷⁷ لينسى ما كان فيه من البلاء⁹⁷⁸ لأنه لو ذكر ما كان فيه من البلاء⁹⁷⁹ لم⁹⁸⁰ [يتنهأ] بشيء⁹⁸¹ من الدنيا.

[69] وكانت تنقطع المناكح والمناسل كذلك ينسى الكافر ويبقى على الكافر⁹⁸² ستة موآت⁹⁸³ وستة أبدان وستة حجب. فيُصنع به في كل مولد مثل ذلك حتى يرفع⁹⁸⁴ عنه الستة الأبدان⁹⁸⁵ والستة الحجب والمواليد الإنسانية. وذلك كله⁹⁸⁶ في ألف سنة⁹⁸⁷،

964 Omit. A.

965 فتمسحه A

966 إلى B

967 فيأتيه B

968 Omit. A.

969 مارجا B

970 وينسلخ ويبقى A

971 من. A add.

972 Omit. B.

973 قطمئين A

974 يرجع B

975 يعدل A

976 Omit. B.

977 [بين الحمراء والصفرة والأسيد الحسنة] ؟ B add. ; ما دام طفلاً A omit.

978 من البلاء. A omit.

979 Omit. B.

980 فتنهى B ; يتنهى A

981 Omit. B.

982 على الكافر. B omit.

983 هو باب B

984 يرتفع A

985 للأبدان B

986 Omit. B.

987 الدنيا B

ثم يسلك⁹⁸⁸ في المسوخية، نستعيز بالله من عذابه. فهذا على مواليد المؤمن والكافر
وعلة⁹⁸⁹ المسوخية.

تم ذلك والحمد لله رب العالمين وصلواته على رسوله سيدنا محمد وآله الطاهرين.⁹⁹⁰

The Book of Phantoms and Shadows⁹⁹¹

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!

[1] Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far⁹⁹² said: The first thing that God created were the believers, whom He [first] created as phantoms before creating them as shadows. God praised Himself and glorified Himself, and the phantoms praised [Him] as God had praised [Himself], they glorified [Him] as God had glorified. On that day the phantoms were like something that is indiscernible, that has no life in it. An indication⁹⁹³ of that is echo that [He] has created in [this] world; if a man speaks or screams, it responds [with a voice] like his own. This [occurs] in a place beyond place, and that is not in every place.⁹⁹⁴ He made this as an indication of the phantoms, for the phantoms were responding to God with what He had said while there was no life in them.

[2] Then God created the shadows. God then praised and glorified Himself, and the phantoms responded to Him, [whereas] the shadows responded to the phantoms and not to the Lord, and this became a transgression. This is similar

ذلك 988

وعلى A 989

A add. (marginalia); B ثم ذلك والحمد لله رب العالمين وصلواته على سيدنا محمد والى السلام عليهم اجمعين. 990

خاتم النبيين وعلى وصيه علي بن ابي طالب اشرف الوصيين وعلى الائمة من ذريتهما الطيبين الطاهرين وعلى مولانا الامام الطيب ابي القاسم امير المؤمنين وسلم وحسننا الله ونعم الوكيل

991 I have not translated honorific expressions such as عز وجل or تعالى unless that is the only way God is referred to; the Qur'anic quotations are from Abdel Haleem's translation (unless noted otherwise), with occasional modifications where necessary.

992 On him, see the "Introduction."

993 In the sense of "semblance."

994 The last phrase does not make much sense; if the author wanted to point out that what is happening is not in an actual place, one would expect "and that is in no place" (with اي instead of كل). The logical inconsistency could be accounted for either by a scribal error, or by the fact that the author was not very educated and not a particularly skilled writer (as indeed the authors of many other *ghulāt* writings). Finally, the phrase could be a later insertion as it is missing in EH.

to what you see in a mirror when you speak; it speaks as if uttering without soul. The shadows likewise responded to the phantoms without soul. Then God created the souls. They became called “souls” because they went toward God as a bird goes toward its nest. Or,⁹⁹⁵ they were called “souls” because they find rest in knowing God.⁹⁹⁶

[3] The souls asked God: “From what did you create us and how did begin our [creation]? [Tell us] so that we might know how You began our creation.” He said: “I began with the phantoms, then the shadows, then you—that is, the souls.” They said to God: “We have learned how You created us, [now] we want to know how we come into being and how we die.”

[4] God said: “You come into being obedient to Me, then you inadvertently disobey Me. Had you disobeyed Me on purpose, you would have disbelieved in Me. Then I conceal Myself from you and create bodies for you, which conceal you from the knowledge of one another. Then I call you to Myself in what I conceal Myself from you,⁹⁹⁷ so that you worship Me. My veils are many, and from among them I will choose a veil with which I will not part, and which will not part with Me.⁹⁹⁸ Whoever from among you worships Me in it is a believer, and whoever worships Me in all of My veils is an infidel. For I make others dwell in all of My veils; this, as a punishment for the Demon, so that he might not know Me and might not worship Me in truth. Whoever worships Me in belief or in conviction, I will reward him in the veil⁹⁹⁹ which is ever with Me. I made this incumbent upon Myself. I wished that Satan¹⁰⁰⁰ and his progeny

995 Lit. “another aspect.”

996 Lit. “their rest is in God’s knowledge”; the explanation of the etymology of *arwāḥ* is based on the acoustic and genetic affinity of the words for “souls” (*arwāḥ*), “went” (*rāḥāt*), and “rest” (*rāḥa*), all of which are derived from the Arabic root رَوَح.

997 I.e. “in the veil in which I hide Myself from you.”

998 On the veils in Ghulat texts, see, e.g., *Kitāb al-ṣirāṭ*, ed. al-Munṣif b. ‘Abd al-Jalīl, pp. 79, 118, 178, where they are represented on earth by the Prophet Muḥammad, and where it appears to the believer who reaches the seventh degree of the spiritual hierarchy; cf. also Muḥammad b. Nuṣayr, *al-Akwār al-nūrāniyya wa l-adwār al-rūḥāniyya*, p. 47 and id., *Kitāb al-mithāl wa l-ṣūra*, Silsilat al-turāth al-‘alawī 1, eds. Abū Mūsā and Shaykh Mūsā, n.p. Lebanon, 2006, pp. 47, 224, 229.

999 بالجاب could mean two things: first, “in the veil,” i.e. God rewarding the believers while He is in His veil; second, it could mean that God rewarded them “with the veil,” presumably by giving it to them. Since it never parts with him, however, the first reading is likelier.

1000 Satan and Demon seem to be the same person, cf. par. 8 below.

would not worship Me in it, but that you would [instead], you are more worthy of it, for this is true belief.”¹⁰⁰¹

[5] The believers said: “Oh Lord, how do we disobey You, and what is the disobedience of our enemy like, and what did You create him from?” He said: “I made you from the shadows, and the shadows responded to the phantoms [instead of responding to me]. [This] mistake of yours¹⁰⁰² was inadvertent, and God abandoned you for fifty one thousand years.”¹⁰⁰³

[6] Then He spoke in **Part Two**, saying: “I am putting a successor on earth,”¹⁰⁰⁴ he is your enemy and the enemy of the veils.¹⁰⁰⁵ I have no enemy and no adversary, for an adversary has power and is [sometimes] victorious.” They said: “Oh Lord, what does that enemy do?” The Most High said: “If you mention Me in My veil, he will kill you, and if you worship Me as part of My veils,¹⁰⁰⁶ he will torment you. All of this only happens¹⁰⁰⁷ to you because you doubted in God, for “every day He is at work,”¹⁰⁰⁸ and He [at times] changes his decision.”¹⁰⁰⁹ They said: “We have no obligation to face Him,” and this became the first mistake committed by the believers without knowledge or intention.

[7] They said: “How can You put someone there who will cause damage and bloodshed, when we celebrate Your praise and proclaim Your holiness,” glorify you and worship you!? “He said, ‘I know things you do not.’”¹⁰¹⁰ They

1001 I.e., true belief is worshipping God in the one veil with which He does not part.

1002 Implying that the shadows are the believers.

1003 This number could be connected with the fifty thousand years attested in other texts; according to *Kitāb al-haft* (pp. 20-25), it is the period during which God created the world; similarly to KAA, this text states that having created the world, God stopped doing anything for the same period of time; according to the Ḥarbiyya, each of the seven Adams lived on earth for fifty thousand years, see van Ess, (ed.), *Frühe muʿtazilitische Hārasiographie*, pp. 37-9; cf. also Crone, *The Nativist Prophets*, pp. 209-10.

1004 Cor 2, 30.

1005 The AB version has الحجاب “veil” in the singular, which would imply that the deputy is the enemy of the one veil who never parts with God. However, this goes somewhat contrary to the next sentence, where God says that He has no enemy.

1006 Although أنتم better translates as “you believed,” this passage seems to be hinting at an act of worship directed toward the veils, as opposed to God, hence the torment inflicted on them. The passage that follows confirms this reading.

1007 The word يبقى “remains,” as well as the alternative readings, do not make much sense and seem to be corruptions.

1008 Cor 55, 29.

1009 The term *yabdū lahu* “He changes His decision” is related to *badāʾ*, used in Shiʿi theology for God’s change of His decision, see Wilfred Madelung, “Badāʾ,” *Elr*; in this context, however, the word *yabdū* might be a scribal error.

1010 The two passages are from Cor 2, 30.

became terrified when He told them: "In all of my veils I have put others than Me. I [also] put veils on you, and veil you from one another." Thereupon fear and dread entered their hearts. He then told them: "This is how you know me; had you not wanted [to know] me, [your] knowledge of Me would have become null."

[8] From the mistake of the believers God created a veil and veiled them with it. For each one of them He created a veil from His [own] mistake and veiled him from his fellow [believer]. From the veil which He had made from the believers' mistake, He created Satan and the Demon¹⁰¹¹ "who whispers into the hearts of people."¹⁰¹² Then God created from each of the believers' veils a satanic soul, according to their number. He created the Demon and his progeny from the believers' disobedience, then He called the Demon and his progeny to worship Him, but they said: "Tell us how You created us and how You made us in the beginning, so that we know," so He told them about the beginning of their creation.

[9] The Demon said: "Where were we? You have created us from disobedience. The believers have disobeyed and You forgave them. What is our punishment¹⁰¹³ if we disagreed just once?! Forgive us!" [But] he and his progeny had decided to disobey God, and God hid behind the veil which He had named Adam. God told the angels: "Prostrate before Adam!"¹⁰¹⁴ Then He said: "Prostrate toward the House!"¹⁰¹⁵ And the angels and the believers prostrated before God in the person of Adam as He had commanded them, but the Demons did not.

[10] God told the Demon and his progeny: "prostrate before Adam!"¹⁰¹⁶ But the Demon said: "I am better than him: You created me from fire and him from clay."¹⁰¹⁷ Which means: "You created me from the thing that comes from You."¹⁰¹⁸

1011 "Satan and the demon" seem to refer to the same person, and are used together for emphasis.

1012 Cor, 114, 5.

1013 *علينا ما* literally means "what is against us," but in this context it means "what punishment should be applied against us"; for a similar usage, see al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, vol. 7, p. 198.

1014 Cor 7, 11.

1015 I.e. Mecca.

1016 Cor 7, 11.

1017 Cor 7, 12.

1018 Literally, the phrase translates "you crated me from the thing which I am from you," which makes neither grammatical nor logical sense. A possible emendation would be *خلفتني من الشيء الذي منك*, which my translation reflects. However, I have not emended it, firstly, because the passage appears this way both in A and in B, and, secondly, this version probably reflects, albeit clumsily, the intention of the author (or a later scribe), to attribute to the Demon the words, directed to God, "I am from You!" It is possible that

But the Demon lied, using “light” instead of “fire.”¹⁰¹⁹ Had he told the truth, he would have said: “You created me from that which gives light, while He is Adam, You made him from clay, that is, You made him from the mistake of your friends,¹⁰²⁰ this is why they prostrated before him. But I [only] prostrate before You and do not prostrate before him.”

[11] God then concealed Himself with the veil [that He had named] Adam¹⁰²¹ so that the Demon could not prostrate before him. God thus hid from the Demon in His first veil, and from the Demon’s disobedience He created the veils of metamorphosis, which differ from human form—**Part Three**—and which, if God becomes angry at a people, He transforms them into monkeys and pigs and other beings like them from among metamorphic beings. Then, when the Demon saw [that] the believers had erred without intention and had become concealed, donning veils, and when He saw [that] the veils created from his disobedience [were] repugnant and hideous, he became terrified that he and his progeny should don them, and sought to prostrate. That is, he prostrated before God, [but instead,] he prostrated before every [physical] body he saw, before fire, water, the stars, the sun, the moon—his habit was [also] his children’s—before the night, the day, and all that God has created, [all the while], saying to himself: “Perhaps he has concealed Himself in one of these.”

[12] [When] he had found the prostration which God had commanded him,¹⁰²² God blinded him, [preventing him] from [performing] it. This is why people began worshipping everything, until they began to worship time¹⁰²³

the author of these lines combined two ideas in one sentence, without making them fit grammatically: first, the Demon’s statement, “You created me from the thing that is from You”; second, “I am from You.”

1019 “Light” refers to the divine light that permeates the luminous divine realm (*al-‘ālam al-nūrānī*), cf. *Kitāb al-ṣirāt*, p. 148, Muḥammad b. Nuṣayr, *al-Akwār al-nūrāniyya*, p. 43; and “fire” is what the Demon is made from, id., *Kitāb al-mithāl wa l-ṣūra*, p. 228. The Demon confused the two words since they sound alike.

1020 For the significance of the term *walī* (pl. *awliyāʾ*) in early Shiʿi discourse, see Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, “Notes à propos de la *walāya* Imamite,” *JAOS* 122 (2002), pp. 722–41; Maria Dakake, *The Charismatic Community: Shiʿite Identity in Early Islam*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 2007, pp. 103–23.

1021 Translating the Arabic *idāfa* as genitive would give the wrong impression that the veil belongs to Adam, whereas, as was said earlier, the veil *is* Adam.

1022 I.e., when he had found the right veil before which to prostrate.

1023 The term *دهر* refers to a long period of time or to eternity. It is possible that by the worshippers of time the author refers to the *dahrīyya*, a theological current who rejected God’s existence and believed in the eternity of the world; it is amply discussed in medieval Islamic literature, see M. Shaki and J. van Ess, “Dahri,” *Elr*, vol. 4, p. 587–590; Crone, *The Nativist Prophets*, p. 220.

because the Demon had worshipped time—and [this] habit of his was his children's [too]. He said, "Perhaps God has concealed Himself in it," and prostrated before darkness and light, and this became a habit for his children [as well]. He prostrated before the [four] natures,¹⁰²⁴ and prostrated before men, saying: "perhaps God has concealed Himself in man"; [then] he prostrated before his [i.e. man's] children, and his [i.e. the Demon's] children prostrated before him [i.e. man]. For that reason, prostrating [before things and persons other than God] has become the Demon's habit to this day.

[13] The angels [then] told the Demon: "There is no use for you to prostrate for you have found neither God nor His veil in whoever you prostrate before, for He is hidden from you in His veil." [Thereupon] the Demon determined to kill the believers, he led them astray and killed them—this, out of envy for not having been able to obey and worship God [by bowing] toward Adam¹⁰²⁵ as they had done it. The Demon and his progeny knew that in the end they would be metamorphosed into [sub-human] forms and would [end up] in hellfire. And since he had not found [true] worship, and knew he was going to be transformed and perish, he did not care [any more] what he was doing, and he [began] leading the believers astray. He led the believers astray for their sins and for falling short¹⁰²⁶ of acknowledging God's oneness, and for doubting in God who created them.

1024 It is perhaps not by chance that the worshippers of the natures are mentioned next to the worshippers of *dahr*, for in some early Shī'ī texts the *dahrīyya* have also been called *aṣḥāb al-ṭabā'ir* "the people of the natures," who rejected God's existence, claiming that only what is perceived the senses is real, see pseudo-Mufaḍḍal al-Ju'fī, *Tawḥīd al-Mufaḍḍal*, in Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, vol. 3, Beirut, 1983, p. 149 (which does not openly name the *dahrīyya*, but names the *aṣḥāb al-ṭabā'ir*); for a similar use of the term, see also Mānakdīm, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, ed. 'Abd al-Karīm 'Uthmān, Cairo, 1284/1965, pp. 338-339. The term has also been used to simply denote those who held that all bodies are composed of the four natures—heat, coldness, wetness, and dryness, see, e.g., Ash'arī, *Maqālāt*, p. 348, 431; Josef van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. u. 3. Jh. H.*, Berlin, New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1991-7, vol. 2, p. 39.

1025 The key here is the preposition *إلى*, which denotes movement *toward*; based on the previous context, where Adam is God's personification and veil, and where the believers had to bow before Adam as God was concealed in him, in *السجدة لله إلى آدم*, the first part likely means "prostration before/worship of God", whereas the second part denotes the physical direction of the prostration: *toward* Adam.

1026 *نقصير* literally meaning "shortcoming," "falling short," was a polemical term used by the "extremists" to denote their opponents' rejection of the divine element in the Imams; the latter called them *غلاة* "extremists" for taking their devotion to the Imams to the extreme, see Modarressi, *Crisis*, p. 36.

[14] For He had taken a covenant from them, and had said in His book: “when your Lord took out from the children of Adam” [their offspring], who come into being the same way as Adam had, “from their loins,” that which reveals their acceptance of God’s oneness;¹⁰²⁷ [when He took] “their offspring and made them bear witness about themselves,” [affirming] that God created them and that they know Him, He said, “‘Am I not your Lord?’ and they replied, ‘Yes, we bear witness.’ [So you cannot say on the Day of Resurrection], ‘We were not aware of this,’”¹⁰²⁸ [i.e.] of the veil of our Lord which we distinguish from among [all] the veils, and of how He created our veils, and of how He created the Demon and his progeny. In God’s hands only is my good fortune!

[15] **Part Four:** When the Demon learned that for his disobedience he was going to enter the [sub-human] bodies of metamorphosis—the bodies of metamorphosis are made of his disobedience while the bodies of the believers and the souls of satans¹⁰²⁹ are made of the disobedience of the believers—he became hostile toward the believers and began slaughtering them.¹⁰³⁰ But the Demon had no power to kill them by his own choosing except only for the believers’ past sins, for which they were punished.¹⁰³¹ As to poverty, it was [a punishment] for violating the rights of [other] believers, and for taking from them what was not theirs. This is why poverty exists among the believers. As to

1027 Here the author plays with the affinity between the word for “loin” *ظَهْر* and the word for “becoming apparent” *ظَهَرَ*.

1028 The quotations are from Cor 7, 172; to make the entire sentence make sense in English, I significantly depart from the original Arabic. The text might be corrupted in some places, but in some, the confused wording might just reflect the author’s personal style, and emendation would be too hypothetical. The places where I depart from the text are the following: *من الذي يترى في المواليد على مولد آدم*, which would literally translate “from that which grows in the birthplaces, upon the birthplace of Adam”; apparently the author’s intention is to convey to the children of Adam that they are of the same stock as him; *من الامر الذي ظهر ما عليه من توحيدهم*, if literally translated, does not make much sense (in neither of the two readings), and I would be tempted to change it into: *من الامر الذي ظهر عليه*; *من الامر الذي ظهر عليه* is followed by *وعلى الذرية*, which is redundant.

1029 Above, the satanic souls are said to have been made from the veils of the believers, which probably stand for their bodies.

1030 Lit., “took possession of them with slaughter.”

1031 In the construction *عوقب بعضهم ببعض*, lit., “some of them were punished by/for some/others,” the first *بعض* refers to the sins and the second to the believers; so the entire construction means “the believers were punished by/for their sins.”

the killing by the unbelievers, they kill the believers in different bodies.¹⁰³² And as to the opulence and the good fortunes of the unbelievers in the material world, it is [a reward] for what [good] they had done to the believers [while] in various bodies.

[16] If a believer or an unbeliever saves a believer from murder and then enters a [new] body,¹⁰³³ he will receive [in that new body] enough boon and power to save [another] ten of them from murder. And he who saves ten [believers] from fear or from murder will be given [enough] to save a hundred—all of that is a reward¹⁰³⁴ for him who has saved a believer from murder. [The reward for saving] each believer is according to [the degree of] his belief. If one saves a Door¹⁰³⁵ from murder, he is given dominion over one seventh of the world, which no one can dispute; if someone does, he [i.e. he who has saved the Door] will vanquish him and will take [back] the possession of one seventh of the world's boon. He thus receives according to its degree:¹⁰³⁶ if he [i.e. the saved believer] is on the fifth degree of belief, he [his saviour] receives according to that, and if he is on the first degree of belief,¹⁰³⁷ he [his saviour] receives according to that. If an infidel saves a believer who is on that [i.e. the first] degree of belief, he will receive 10, 000 dirhams, and if he shelters him and dresses him, he will receive tenfold—according to what he has done for him.

[17] The difference in people's affluence and poverty is based on their difference in belief and its degrees, so [some of them] become kings, [others] traders, and [others] craftsmen [working] with their hands.¹⁰³⁸ As to maladies

1032 The sentence does not explain why unbelievers kill believers; in the second part, "in" probably means "wearing," i.e. unbelievers kill believers wearing different bodies.

1033 I.e. is reborn in a new body.

1034 Could also translate "as a reward," if جزاء be vocalized with a *tanwīn fathā*.

1035 The Doors are the highest degree of the spiritual hierarchy, see par. 37.

1036 I.e., according to the degree of the believer he saves, for the degrees of believers, see par. 37.

1037 Literally, the text reads "five degrees" and "one degree." However, the author likely means "fifth" and "first," cf. the previous sentence.

1038 *Lisān al-ʿarab* and Lane's *Lexicon* (s.v. صَنِيع) register the expression صَنِيعُ الْيَدِ/الْيَدَيْنِ and صَنِيعُ الْيَدَيْنِ meaning "skillful"; here, however, it is clear that the form صُنَاع is the plural of صَانِع "craftsman," since the author writes about professions. Whether indeed the Urtext had صُنَاعُ يَدَيْهِمْ is unclear, and it is possible that a scribe added يَدَيْهِمْ to the "craftsmen" because of the similarity of the resulting expression to the abovementioned one.

like pains, illnesses, and ailments that cause sorrow and trouble¹⁰³⁹ to the believers, people are compensated [by these] according to its [i.e. their belief's] degree. Likewise, the difference between the people's incomes is according to its degree, and the differences between their diseases too. The prisons and jails [too] are a rightful [compensation] for the believer, incumbent upon him in this world. You confine and imprison him there,¹⁰⁴⁰ he becomes confined to it, and whether his confinement is long or short depends on how much that believer has taken from what is rightfully yours. Sorrows [too] are a necessary, rightful [compensation] for you. If you can and do cause him all the sorrow and make him sad, you will receive it [in return], in accordance with how much sorrow you have caused the believer.

[18] As to joy, sorrow, and dirhams, these [too] are [given] in accordance with what one deserves. When someone is given sustenance,¹⁰⁴¹ this is because he himself has given to the believer¹⁰⁴² what he had in abundance. And if one day he adds [to that] some bread or some salt, he will receive a ten days' supply of bread and salt which no one else will receive. The differences between the people's food, drink, and income are [all] in accordance with that.

[19] As to sovereignty,¹⁰⁴³ it [also] is [given] in accordance with the believers' superiority in the degrees [of their belief], and [for] sheltering them—

1039 In the original sentence, "sorrow and trouble" (الغوم والهموم) appear as semantically redundant; they are presented as a more general category for "pains, illnesses, and ailments" (الاجاع والاسقام والامراض) and come after them to delineate where the latter belong (lit.: "pains, illnesses, and ailments that befall the believers from among [types of] sorrow and trouble"). The problem is that at the very beginning of the sentence, the general category for the three disasters is already said to be the "maladies" (العلل). I took, therefore, the liberty to change the role of "sorrow and trouble" into the result of the "pains, illnesses, and ailments" in my translation. My correction, however, does not imply that the Arabic has been corrupted since the many other similar instances show that such semantic inconsistencies might very well be part of the original.

1040 I.e. the prison.

1041 The second form of the root ق-وت, which would mean "to give sustenance," must have been rather rare, as it does not appear in any of the major dictionaries of Classical Arabic.

1042 B's variant is "believers", in the plural, which would normally make more sense; in the previous sentences, however, the author used "believer" in the singular, hence my preference for A's variant; this furthermore makes يوسع به عليه preferable over يوسع عليهم, which would render a different meaning.

1043 This form of the root *m-l-k* does not appear to be common (cf. W. Björkman, "Tādj," *EI2*), and in this case probably refers to secular kingship as opposed to a religious one which

[this] in accordance with the degree of their belief.¹⁰⁴⁴ Caliphal rule is bestowed for rescuing a veil; [and] if he [i.e. the caliph] wants to kill him [i.e. the veil] but spares him, he is spared and given the world's¹⁰⁴⁵ rule.¹⁰⁴⁶ But if he tears the veil and kills him, he will enter into the cycle of metamorphoses, and will never receive blessings. For disobedience¹⁰⁴⁷ with regard to the veil is utmost, and obedience is utmost, no disobedience is greater than killing the veil, and no obedience nobler than rescuing him; to rescue a veil is to rule the world. Thus a caliph's reward is in accordance with what [intention] toward the veil emerges in his heart. [E.g.], if he wishes him evil, his [i.e. the Caliph's] lifespan will decrease, [hence] a caliph's rule may be shorter or longer, God willing!

[20] **Part Five**, about the initial [making]¹⁰⁴⁸ of the shadows in the beginning of creation

God created seven veils after the first veil; He made them from the veils of humans, and named each of the [seven] veils Adam. He then called the people to each of the [seven] veils as He had called them to the first veil—to worship Him.¹⁰⁴⁹ From His first veil He created seven bodies and put in each of the bodies a Demon's soul. The seven Demons became like the seven Adams; the Demon refused to worship Adam, and like him the [other] Demons refused to worship the [seven] Adams.

personified by the caliph, who is discussed in the sentence that follows, cf. A. Ayalon, "Malik," *EI*2.

1044 I.e., the degree of the belief of the ones who are sheltered. The "degrees of belief," a central *ghulāt* idea, are discussed in par. 37. This sentence once more emphasizes that the higher the degree of the ones saved or sheltered, the greater the reward for sheltering them (cf. par. 16, which states that "[The reward for saving] each believer is according to [the degree of] his belief"); for a continuation of this idea, see the next sentence.

1045 الدنيا might refer specifically to the material world.

1046 If ملك be vocalized as *mullika*; otherwise, if we vocalize it as *malaka*, the translation will be "rules the world."

1047 I.e. the disobedience of God.

1048 ابتداء means "to begin, initiate," and in this context might refer to the creation of shadows before all other creatures; in the context of "initial creation," the word resonates with the expression ابتداء الخلق "the beginning of creation" (cf. al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfi*, vol. 2, p. 6), and with the Qur'ānic يُبْدِئُ اللَّهُ الْخَلْقَ "God initiates creation" (Cor 29, 19).

1049 The last "to worship Him" could refer to His calling the people to the veils or to the first veil; i.e., He called the people to the veils to worship Him through them. In the context of the foregoing, it probably just refers to the first veil.

[21] The seven Adams are like our [first] Adam in [their] veil, birthplace, and kin.¹⁰⁵⁰ All of their names during this Adam¹⁰⁵¹ are like the names of the veils during the earlier Adams. The names of Satans during our Adam are like the names of Satans and pharaohs [during the earlier Adams], the names of believers during our Adam are exactly like the names of believers during [the earlier] Adams in their lineage and kin: Arabs, non-Arabs, Persians, Nabateans, Turks, Daylamites, Blacks, Abyssinians, Byzantines, and the exact likes¹⁰⁵² of them; [among them are] cross-breeds,¹⁰⁵³ rich and poor, kings and vagabonds,¹⁰⁵⁴ and others—exactly the same.

[22] Some have said: “Adam is one, and his progeny are reborn in seven bodies.” Nay, it is Satan who is one, and it is his progeny who are reborn in seven bodies. They mistakenly thought that because [the names, things, and birthplaces of all of them during the different Adams are the same], name for name, thing for thing, birthplace for birthplace. God, [however], has said: “they are seven Adams and seven Demons.” He likewise created seven heavens and seven earths, and made seven doors for Hell and eight for Paradise. He made seven cycles, and in each cycle seven ages, and in each age He made seven freshwater seas and seven saltwater seas.¹⁰⁵⁵

[23] God put the first Adam and his progeny in the seventh heaven, and put the second Adam and his progeny in the sixth heaven, and put the third Adam and his progeny in the fifth heaven, and put the fourth Adam and his progeny in the fourth heaven, and put the fifth Adam and his progeny in the third heaven, and put the sixth Adam and his progeny in the second heaven, and put the seventh Adam and his progeny in the nearest heaven, which is the one near us; so they are seven Adams and seven heavens.

[24] Likewise, God created the first Demon and his progeny and put them into the hell¹⁰⁵⁶ of the seventh earth, then the second Demon and his progeny into the hell of the sixth earth, then the third Demon and his progeny into the hell of the fifth earth, then the fourth Demon and his progeny into the hell of the fourth earth, then the fifth Demon and his progeny into the hell of the third

1050 The repeated الحجب in the original seems to be a corruption.

1051 Given the cyclical view of history of the treatise, في probably means “in the period of.”

1052 “The exact likes” stand for the lengthy Arabic حذو النعل بالنعل والقذة بالقذة والبدن بالبدن cf. al-Qummī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Ṭayyib al-Mūsawī al-Jazā’irī, Najaf, 1387/1967, vol. 2, p. 413.

1053 More specifically, the term مولد designates persons of non-pure Arab stock or of non-Arab origin who have grown up among Arabs, see “Muwallad,” *EI*2.

1054 The original for “vagabond” صعلوك is in the singular because it rhymes with “kings” ملوك.

1055 Cf. Cor 25, 53, 35, 12.

1056 هاوية—my own emendation since none of the available variants fits the context—literally means “abyss,” but is also used specifically for Hell, cf. *Lisān*, s.v. هاوية.

earth, then the sixth Demon and his progeny into the hell of the second earth, then the seventh Demon and his progeny into the hell of the first earth which is the one near us.

[25] They are the Adams, their forms corresponding to what has come upon them.¹⁰⁵⁷ Each of the nations among men¹⁰⁵⁸ and their progeny are in a Paradise in the heavens, and each of the tribes of Demons and their progeny are in a hell in the abyss of the earths. The best of Adams is our Adam,¹⁰⁵⁹ the most evil of Demons is our Demon,¹⁰⁶⁰ and no other community has been tested by God like our community has.¹⁰⁶¹

[26] It all began and ended within the span of fifty one thousand years. Each cycle lasts for 7,099 years; it has been said that this is the [period] that is between the messiah and his rising. A return-cycle for veils lasts for an entire fifty one thousand years, likewise, [the letters of the alphabet]—*alif*, *bā'*, *tā'*, *thā'*, etc.—together with their dots are fifty one, and likewise, the prostrations in prayer are fifty one.¹⁰⁶² All of this points to the cycles, the years, and the reckoning; this is His division of it into two creations, and [this is] how He has brought us forth.¹⁰⁶³

[27] Then God brought forth the seventh Adam in the beginning of the seventh creation, and his progeny likewise were brought forth into the world in the end of the [seventh] creation and were summoned to the knowledge of God. And when the believer responds to the [call] to know God in its entirety, he returns to the place where he had initially been and which he had left.¹⁰⁶⁴ Whereas he who is an unbeliever, who rejects the knowledge [of God], and who has no faith left in him, will be transformed into [creatures that are] eaten, ridden, and killed. All of this happens to him because of his enmity toward the believer, and God causes that to him as He wishes.

[28] As a result, all of the believers from the seventh Adam[’s cycle] reach the highest degree of belief, until they return to the place in Paradise which

1057 Probably referring to the end of par. 21.

1058 According to B’s variant (الأدمن), “each of the nations of Adams”; the mention of “nations,” however, makes A’s variant more plausible.

1059 I.e. the one who is in our heaven.

1060 I.e., the one who is in the abyss of our earth.

1061 I.e., the community that lives on our earth in the current cycle.

1062 The fifty one or fifty (as in par. 44) prostrations include the seventeen obligatory ones and the thirty four or thirty three optional ones.

1063 The passage *فسمه الخليقين وكيف اخرجنا* might be corrupted.

1064 I.e., Paradise, see later in the par.

they had left, and where they reside in the first, nearest, heaven.¹⁰⁶⁵ He [may] then leave [Paradise] as he wishes, [for] he has seven luminous bodies and seven luminous covers. If he wishes, he veils himself with a veil¹⁰⁶⁶ as al-Khiḍr does¹⁰⁶⁷—every believer is al-Khiḍr—they [i.e. these veils] are the bodies upon which the earth rests. The earth is the believers who are content with God, and who rest upon the knowledge of these.¹⁰⁶⁸

[29] And when the seventh Demon and his progeny reached utmost unbelief and were entered into the utmost suffering of metamorphosis, they were left on earth as a warning for those who come after them. It God's hands only is my good fortune!

[30] **Part Six**

When the sixth Adam and his progeny were removed from the second heaven, the Demon and his progeny were removed from this second earth. Then they donned the veils [which are] bodies, and were summoned to the veiled One [i.e. God]. So during the second Adam's cycle [some things became] permissible and [some] forbidden. It was said [to them]: "eat this and that and drink this and that," and so some things became edible and some inedible, some things became palatable and some unpalatable, some things became fit for riding and some unfit for riding; some beasts are feral and some [fruits] have no skin.

[31] All that is forbidden to eat, and all that is not useful, and all that is not killed and is forbidden to kill, these are [all] the first Demon and his progeny who have become transformed, so it has become forbidden to eat them, kill them, to exploit, and to ride them because they are among those who were in the previous cycle, so the benefits [they bring] belong there. It is, [however],

1065 The present tense in the last part of the sentence seems to refer to the initial state of the believers before leaving Paradise. Here it is used as a sort of "eternal present," to use Tarif Khalidi's term, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 8.

1066 In the original, the object of "wishes" is the "veil" (حجاب) as it is in the accusative. It appears, however, that semantically, the object of the believer's wish is in reality the "veiling oneself with the veil," not the veil, as he already has it, and because the previous sentence speaks of leaving Paradise "as one wishes."

1067 The idea of al-Khiḍr's veiling resonates, and probably has common roots with, the tradition where the Mahdī is compared to al-Khiḍr and Dhū l-Qarnayn because like them, he is hidden from the people's eyes, see Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, p. 110.

1068 It is not clear who "these" refers to. The sentence is probably build upon the acoustic similarity of "earth" *arḍ*, and "to be content" *raḍīya*, and almost certainly is an interpolation by a scribe because of its parenthetical nature, and because the sentence that follows begins with كذلك "likewise," which clearly refers to the preceding one.

permissible to eat, drink, and exploit the progeny of the Demon who have become transformed [in this cycle]. This is why [some things] have come to be forbidden and some permissible.¹⁰⁶⁹

[32] And as long as the children of Adam believe to the full extent, they will be returned to their place [in Paradise] where they had [initially] been. And as long as the children of Demons reach the limit of unbelief and rejection, they are transformed into minerals to be tested in them. So each Adam returns to his place [in Paradise], and each Demon returns to the metamorphosis into [various] bodies, into birds, into all that creeps on the ground, and all that is on the ground from among trees, rocks, and so on.

[33] Our Adam is the first Adam, he was dispatched in the end of the cycles. And our Demon is the first Demon who was dispatched in the end of the cycles.¹⁰⁷⁰ Our Adam is the best of Adams, and his progeny likewise, and our Demon is the most evil, and his progeny likewise. The best of Adams and the most evil of the Demons were dispatched during this cycle. Our Adam received the reward of the six [previous] Adams and of their progenies for he is the first who obeyed God. So he became favored over others for his belief, which no one else has.

[34] But God took his covenant, then took the covenant of his progeny; then He took the covenant of the second Adam and his progeny for the first Adam and for Himself; then He took the covenant of the third Adam and his progeny for the second Adam, the first, and for Himself; then He took the covenant of the fourth Adam and his progeny for the third Adam, the second, the first, and for Himself; then He took the covenant of the fifth Adam and his progeny for the fourth, the third, the second, the first, and for Himself; then He took the covenant of the sixth Adam and his progeny for the fifth, the fourth, the third, the second, the first, and for Himself; then He took the covenant of the seventh Adam and his progeny for the sixth, the fifth, the fourth, the third, the second, the first, and for Himself.

[35] All of them are equal in knowledge and understanding;¹⁰⁷¹ they sought from God the knowledge of those who are in the seven heavens—which are [arranged] one above the other—in the first creation. Hence the seven [heavens] are glorified in this world, and he who is in them is honored. God has

1069 For a similar explanation of edibility, see *al-Majmū'a l-Mufaḍḍaliyya*, p. 87.

1070 It is not clear where the Demon was removed from; it might refer to the fact that he left his physical form and entered transformation (*masūkhīyya*).

1071 The subtle differences between the meaning of *علم* and *معرفة*, found in the writings of theologians and mystics (cf. "Ilm" and "Ma'rifa" in *E12*), most likely do not apply to this text, and here the two terms are simply used as synonyms.

said: "Those who are in the front, they are ahead of all; for these will be the ones brought nearest to God."¹⁰⁷² They were put in the heavens according to the order of their creation; the heavens differ from one another according to the order of their creation, for some of them are older than the others. Hence the difference between the times and hours.

[36] **Part Seven**

God set man's soul as an example, so it has seven degrees with their outward and inward [aspects],¹⁰⁷³ just as the denizens of the heavens are in seven stations, some of them higher than the others. For he who is in the second heaven [also] stands in the first heaven, and knows what is in it, [so] he knows what is in the in the second and in the first. Likewise, he who is in the third heaven knows what is in the third, in the second, and in the first. Likewise, he who is in the fourth heaven knows what is in it, and what is in the third, the second, and the first. Likewise, the denizens of the seventh heaven know what is in the seventh, the sixth, the fifth, the fourth, the third, the second, and the first. And likewise, those who are in the first heaven do not know what is in the second heaven and in the third, nor does he who is in the sixth known what is in the seventh.

[37] The believer [too] is made this way:¹⁰⁷⁴ the Tested, the Chief, the Noble, the Elect, the Devout, the Veil, and the Door,¹⁰⁷⁵ each of them looks at the degree of knowledge and understanding of his [higher] neighbor with yearning. [But] they became equal in their knowledge of God by taking a covenant of submission from one another. The first reward is the reward of those six Adams [given]¹⁰⁷⁶ to our Adam, who is the first one. This is how the people were created and this is how their covenant was taken.

[38] It is after [the creation] of the veil that their degrees became varied and the [seven] heavens were erected, for before there was a veil they [i.e. the believers] were of the same degree. The seven degrees of belief became veiled from one another in order that they [i.e. the believers who are on them] might acquire knowledge. If [the first] Adam, the six Adams, and their children

¹⁰⁷² Cor 56, 10-11.

¹⁰⁷³ The distinction between the "outward" and "inward" aspects of the soul is not specified, but it could go along the *ẓāhir* vs. *bāṭin* opposition found in early Shi'ism, and specifically some Ghulat texts, see, e.g. Amir-Moezzi, "Notes à propos de la *walāya* Imamite," pp. 733, 737; *Kitāb al-ṣirāṭ*, pp. 71, 200, 203.

¹⁰⁷⁴ I.e. he has seven degrees, see the ensuing discussion.

¹⁰⁷⁵ For a discussion of the degrees and their parallels in other *ghulāt* texts, see "Introduction."

¹⁰⁷⁶ Cf. par. 33, which states that the first Adam received the reward of the six previous Adams for he was the first to obey God; the giver in both cases must be God.

acquire knowledge, the veils will be lifted and they will return to the place [in Paradise] where they had [initially] been, and to the power which they had received, so that they might realize [that power] and not need earth nor heaven ; indeed, heaven was made by God's power.

[39] Likewise, the Demons are of seven degrees [of unbelief] and in seven abysses.¹⁰⁷⁷ Each earth has an abyss, a spring of unbelief, and a [special] type of suffering in Blaze, Fire, Flame, Hell,¹⁰⁷⁸ Barhūt,¹⁰⁷⁹ Faylaq,¹⁰⁸⁰ and Sāhira;¹⁰⁸¹ these are the seven levels of Hell¹⁰⁸² in the abyss of each earth. The first Demon and his progeny are in the Sāhira, then the second, the third, the fourth, the fifth, the sixth, and the seventh, below one another. God thus made the outward appearance of the seven of unbelief [i.e. the demons] in the likeness [of the seven levels of Hell]: even though all of them [equally] disbelieved in God, for some of them the suffering became more severe as they are lower than others in the abysses and in suffering, this for their precedence in unbelief, since He created some of them before others.

[40] The names of the degrees of unbelief are like the names of the degrees of belief: the Tested in unbelief, the Noble in unbelief, the Chief in unbelief, the Elect in unbelief, the Devout in unbelief, the Veil in unbelief, and the Door in unbelief [and so on,] until one reaches the last one of them,—for they [all] have emerged from the same thing. The degrees have become varied in order that he leaves the cycle equally and leaves the time equally [?].¹⁰⁸³ The believers were tried by the infidels in order that they should perfect God's path, just as the unbelievers have perfected unbelief in God, so that there remains no

1077 I.e. levels of Hell.

1078 Here, جهنم is simply used as one of the seven levels of Hell.

1079 Barhūt is a place in Ḥaḍramawt, home to the famous well Bīr Barhūt, which by some Muslim exegetes was believed to be the entry to Hell, see Christian Lange, "Hell," *EI*3.

1080 فَيْلَق means "army", but also, by extension, is applied to Dajjāl, as to a huge man, *Lisān*, s.v. فَيْلَق.

1081 The word سَاهِرَة means flat earth, but in the context of Cor 79, 13-14 it refers to the place of Judgment, and in this case is used as just another name for Hell, cf. Elsaid Badawi and Muhammad Abdel Haleem, *Arabic-English Dictionary of Qur'anic Usage*, Leiden, Brill, 2008, sv. سَاهِرَة.

1082 The idea of the seven levels of Hell, together with some of their names used in KAA, is found in other early Islamic traditions as well, see Einar Thomassen, "The Islamic Hell," *Numen* 56 (2009), p. 407.

1083 The passage is evidently corrupt; it explains why the degrees have become varied, but the actual explanation is not clear. A possible alternative to سَوَاءٌ could be سَوِيٌّ, as in Cor 20, 58, but the meaning is still problematic.

suffering that the unbelievers have not experienced, and that there remains no reward that the believers have not received.

[41] The believers and the unbelievers are made in equal numbers. However, the believers are few and the unbelievers many because a believer [after death] returns to his place [in Paradise] whereas the unbelievers returns to earth. Thus, even though the believers exceed the infidels by one part, the latter have multiplied and the believers have become few, for Paradise has eight gates, and Hell has “seven gates, each gate having its allotted part of them,”¹⁰⁸⁴ hence the reward of the believers is greater than the reward of the infidels by one part;¹⁰⁸⁵ until all the veils return, and the souls that were created from them¹⁰⁸⁶ don them, driving them toward suffering, so that they make each other suffer.¹⁰⁸⁷

[42] As to the believers, God does not reward them through one another,¹⁰⁸⁸ but He creates their reward from their good deeds, and they relish it; since they have pleased God with their obedience, He made them rejoice, and since they drew near to him He brought them near, and since they sought Him¹⁰⁸⁹ among His veils until they knew Him, God saved them from perdition. And thus He created from the veils their souls.¹⁰⁹⁰ Then from each of the transgressions of the believers, God created seven veils for the believer and seven for the unbeliever, and He veiled him [i.e. the unbeliever] and his veil; God made the unbeliever and the children of Demons in veils, and made the believers without veils.¹⁰⁹¹

[43] For He has said: “I did not make them witnesses to the creation of the heavens and earth, nor to their own creation; I do not take as My supporters those who lead others astray.”¹⁰⁹² By “the creation of the heavens”¹⁰⁹³ He means “the creation of the veils by which He veiled Himself,” and by “[the

1084 Cor 15, 44.

1085 Or “by one letter,” if we follow A,

1086 It is not entirely clear what *بها خلقت* means in this context. Par. 2 describes the creation of the souls but does not mention anything about the veils.

1087 The souls in this case are the souls of unbelievers, and their veils are their bodies, so the unbelievers’ souls and their bodies make one another suffer in this world, where they return.

1088 As opposed to unbelievers, who make one another suffer by themselves, see previous footnote.

1089 It is unclear to what extent *طلبوا له* reflects the Urtext ; if it does, the translation would have to be “they sought *for* Him,” instead of “sought Him.”

1090 The souls of believers?

1091 This half of the sentence contradicts its first half.

1092 Cor 18, 51.

1093 Cf. C’s variant, which would read “The heavens are the veils by which He veiled Himself.”

creation of] the earth” He means “the creation of the believers,” and by “their own creation” He means¹⁰⁹⁴ “I made the believer witness the creation of the heavens and earth,”—that is, “the creation of my veils and their veils,”—“and their own creation by the first and highest veil toward which they yearn more than toward any of the [other] veils,” He took them as His supporters and did not take the Demons as His supporters. By supporters here He means “He took them as cover from the unbelievers.”

[44] Then for each and every one of the unbelievers God created seven veils of humanity, and for every one of the believers He [also] created seven veils of humanity. Thus the Lord took seven veils, which are the seven Adams, and each of the Adams had seven veils. Hence, apart from highest veil, there are forty nine veils by which God veiled Himself, which equals fifty veils; this is the interpretation of the fifty prostrations.¹⁰⁹⁵ As for the Demons, each of them has seven veils, hence forty nine veils in the cycle of Adam; that is,¹⁰⁹⁶ in each cycle each Demon has seven veils, by which only he veils himself, and only to hellfire does he return. It is these veils, created from the sins of believers,¹⁰⁹⁷ that the believers donned.

[45] The forms of the believers’ and unbelievers’ souls are not the same since the form of the unbeliever’s soul [becomes] like each of the physical bodies it enters, transforming into the form of that body; they [thereby] become transformed into sub-human bodies. They had been human but then, when their bodies became sub-human, they also became sub-human.¹⁰⁹⁸ So the soul changes in whatever way the body does. Their souls thus assumed 3,000 forms; a form in which one dies, a form in which one is killed, and a form in which one is slaughtered: a thousand deaths, a thousand killings, and a thousand slaughters—we ask God to spare us from His suffering! The believers are created in one form, and that is the human form as the Lord has shaped it; they

1094 The passage that follows—intended, as it is, to explain what “their own creation” refers to—in fact explains the entire first half of the verse: “I did not make them witnesses to the creation of the heavens and earth, nor to their own creation.” The explanation of “their own creation” comes only at the end of the sentence.

1095 I.e. the obligatory seventeen and the optional thirty three, see par. 26.

1096 For the translation of يقول as “that is,” see the previous paragraph.

1097 There is a similar theme in *Kitāb al-haft*, p. 26, and *Umm al-kitāb*, par. 197.

1098 The word مسح (pl. مسح), refers to the end result of the verb *masakha*, denoting the sub-human form (whether animal, plant, or inanimate) into which a person is transformed (or reborn). The pronoun “they” in this and the previous sentences seems logically to refer to the unbelievers in general, not just to their souls, despite the fact that the discussion is about their souls.

will never be transformed into anything else, and will not enter¹⁰⁹⁹ into forms other than theirs.

[46] Thus God has said: “they are alike in their living and their dying”¹¹⁰⁰ in themselves, that is, the believers have one form, whereas the infidels have many. As to their dying—and by dying He means the dying of the believer—it is on the degree of humanity, and he continuously returns to it.¹¹⁰¹ The unbeliever’s soul is the soul of a metamorphic being, hence he returns to them.¹¹⁰² God said: “they are alike in their living and their dying,” then continued the verse and said, “how badly they judge!”¹¹⁰³ That is, a believer is not like an unbeliever because the unbeliever has denied God and ignored Him, whereas the believer has known God and comprehended Him, so a believer and an unbeliever are not alike.

[47] Seven veils are upon a believer’s heart: doubt, the induction of doubt, lie, the accusation of lie, suspicion, the arousal of suspicion, and the [veil of] deposit,¹¹⁰⁴ that is, the veil upon a believer’s heart that has no belief and no unbelief in it. Whenever a believer accuses the truthful of lying, ignores [God’s] messengers, and suspects God and his friends of lies, this is out of ignorance, not out of obstinacy. [All of] this is because of the veils that are upon the believer’s heart; afterwards he will [eventually] reach certainty and belief, and those veils will be lifted.

[48] Some believers achieve a higher degree of understanding and knowledge than others—this, if more veils are removed from them than from others. Perhaps some truth is left in their hearts, which pierces the veils of doubt, lie, and unbelief until it reaches the veil of deposit, but it does not reach the heart. The sign of this is when a man pauses upon a thing he hears and says, “I do not know if it is true or false”—and the seventh [veil] is not from among the shadows.¹¹⁰⁵ But if it pierces that veil, he either accepts it or rejects, because it

1099 I.e. their souls will not enter.

1100 Cor 45, 21.

1101 I.e., he never dies in a body other than human for only unbelievers become transformed into non-human forms.

1102 I.e. to metamorphic beings.

1103 Cor 45, 21.

1104 The word *وديعة* means “that which is deposited, deposit” (c.f. Lane, *Lexicon*, Supplement, s.v. *ودع*); later in the discussion (pars. 48-50), it will become clear that the veil itself serves as a “depository” *مستودع* for the *وديعة*.

1105 The passage seems to be corrupted as it does not make much sense. If we read *السامع* instead of *السابع*, it might mean “the hearer is not from among the shadows,” which is still not satisfactory.

reaches the heart. If his heart accepts it, he is a believer, and if it rejects he is an unbeliever. For anything that reaches the heart is either belief or unbelief, true or false. If a heart is believing it accepts the faith and the proof, and if it is unbelieving it accepts the unbelief and the lie and never accepts anything which it has relinquished.

[49] God has said, “a dwelling and storage,”¹¹⁰⁶ which refers to the hearts of the believers when belief becomes established in them. It is something that becomes established in the heart, which it [i.e. the heart] never relinquishes; like the saying, “he became established in the dwelling, [or] he became established.” That is, the heart never relinquishes what it has embraced. As to “storage,” these are the veils which exist by what exists in them, while the heart relinquishes what is in them.

[50] If the heart of a believer embraces unbelief, it will never believe again, and if the heart of an unbeliever accepts belief, it will never disbelieve again. Whatever good, piety, and belief an unbeliever has, it is [all] from what has been stored in the veils. [Thus] if he rejects the veils, he also rejects what [is stored] in them, until the unbeliever's heart remains in pure unbelief, with no good in it, and the heart of the believer remains in pure belief, with no unbelief in it.

[51] If you take [away] that which is stored and the veils, that which dwells in the hearts [permanently]¹¹⁰⁷ will remain; hence,¹¹⁰⁸ a believer is a believer because God has made him such, and an unbeliever is an unbeliever because God has made him such. As to those [qualities] which are stored [in the veils], they thereby become a cause of diversion¹¹⁰⁹ for the unbeliever [and the believer]; he is a believer then disbelieves, or he is an unbeliever then believes; or he is knowledgeable then forgets his knowledge, or ignorant then learns. Whatever is transient¹¹¹⁰ comes from the veils,¹¹¹¹ and whatever is not transient comes from the self created by God, and belief and unbelief are bound to it.¹¹¹²

¹¹⁰⁶ Cor 6, 98, the translation is according to *Sahih International* (<http://quran.com/6/98>).

¹¹⁰⁷ The entire logic of the discussion hinges upon the opposition between *مستقر* and *مستودع*, where the first member refers to the permanent and essential qualities “dwelling” in a believer's or an unbeliever's heart, while the second refers to the non-essential qualities that are “stored” in the veils.

¹¹⁰⁸ The sentence seems to logically follow from the former, and the *ف* indicates this connection.

¹¹⁰⁹ For this meaning of *عِلَّة*, see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *عل*.

¹¹¹⁰ I.e. transient in people.

¹¹¹¹ I.e. from what has been “stored” in them.

¹¹¹² In the original, *فهو* is masculine as it refers to *كل* and not to *ذات*.

[52] Thus God has said, “He will not call you to account for oaths you have uttered unintentionally, but He will call you to account for what your mean in your hearts.” The Most High also said, “with the exception of those who are forced, although their hearts remain firm in faith.”¹¹¹³ God has made the tying of one’s heart the highest end, and has enabled the self to expel what is in the veils. [It is] the indwelling [qualities]¹¹¹⁴ that make a creature correspond to the category of believer or unbeliever. This is the way of creation.

[53] Each believer has seven bodies of light, one body in each heaven. The body in Paradise is of the [same] form as the believer;¹¹¹⁵ it is recognized by its form in heaven just as it is recognized by its form on earth. In each paradise there is a spring. The unbeliever has seven bodies of darkness—in each abyss of [each] earth one body of the same form as the unbeliever,¹¹¹⁶ and in each abyss of [each] earth there is one level of suffering from among the levels of Hell; [this]¹¹¹⁷—in order that an unbeliever be distinguished from another unbeliever in souls just as he is distinguished in the [material] world.

[54] In each of the levels of Hell there are seven springs for unbelievers,¹¹¹⁸ just as, equally, believers have seven springs in Paradise. This is [by] the power of God before the creation would procreate. They remained in this [condition] for fifty one thousand years,¹¹¹⁹ then God made them born [into physical bodies]. So they procreated and the bodies of the children of believers became intermixed, and God made them into seed in the loins of unbelievers and believers, then moved the seed into wombs, ones from the others;¹¹²⁰ from seed He transformed them into a clotted mass, and from clotted mass into a

1113 Cor 16, 106.

1114 Cf. par. 51.

1115 Perhaps this means the believer’s earthly body, as opposed to his body in Paradise.

1116 In the original, “of the same form as the unbeliever” comes at the very end of the sentence, creating an illusion that it refers to the “levels of Hell”; however, in light of the previous sentence and the overall logic, this does not hold.

1117 Referring to the unbeliever’s body of darkness being of the same form as he (which comes at the beginning of the previous sentence), parallel to what was said of the believer.

1118 The second *في النار* is probably redundant.

1119 For a discussion of this number, see par. 5.

1120 In the expression *بعضها من بعض* one *بعض* probably refers to one stage of the development of the body and the second to the next; thus, by saying “he created ones from the others,” the author probably means clotted mass from seed, then a lump of flesh from clotted mass, and so forth.

lump of flesh,¹¹²¹ then into other forms, like what was before the first veil which He had created.

[55] This is why people confuse the newborns of believers and unbelievers; for [their] form is one [and the same], and [their] type is one [and the same], and [their] transformation in wombs is one [and the same], and the seed is one [and the same], these are of one type, these are the veils.¹¹²² For¹¹²³ God has given preference to the newborns of believers over the newborns of unbelievers.

[56] Thus, when God wants to bring a believer into this world, he orders an angel, and [the angel] holds him back so that his head, where his hearing and vision are, comes out [first]. The angel takes the believer's soul and says to it: "this is your veil upon which you have agreed with God, enter it!" And the believer enters obediently; the sign of this is that when the believer is born, he moves and rises, until they say, "he is dead, he does not scream and cry."¹¹²⁴ And if the angels and souls, toward whom he had affection, leave him, he weeps and becomes distressed. He is then swaddled so that he does not injure his veil,¹¹²⁵ for it is tender and is [easily] injured by movement.

[57] Part Eight

Because he is swaddled, the child feels sad and distressed. Children thus acquire a liking toward the yellow, red, [and other] colors, and everything that is pleasant entertains them. This is why childhood lasts for seven years—so that he forgets all that he was in.

[58] [For] if he remembers his prior condition,¹¹²⁶ his heart will be rent by grief, and he will not enjoy his present condition; like a man who thrives, then becomes impoverished and encounters difficulties: his heart is rent by grief over that blessed state, his prayer and fasting do him no good, his current

1121 The creation of man and the terminology largely follows Cor 22, 5, and in translating the Arabic terms for the various stages of the development of the fetus, I have followed Abdel Haleem, cf. his translation of the Qur'ān and his *Arabic-English Dictionary of Qur'anic Usage*, s.v. مَضْغ.

1122 لا يَبْصُرُ وَلا يَبْكِي وَهِيَ مِنْ جَنْسٍ وَاحِدٍ could also refer to the seed only, which would translate as: "the seed is one and it is of one type."

1123 The word لَٰن here does not indicate any cause-effect relationship, and is probably just used as a conjunction.

1124 Despite its syntactic position, وَلا يَبْصُرُ وَلا يَبْكِي could be taken not as part of the direct speech but as chronologically following يَتَحَرَّكُ وَيَشْخَصُ: the sentence could be translated thus: "he moves and rises, [then] stops screaming and crying, so they say, 'he is dead.'"

1125 I.e. his body.

1126 I.e., his condition before birth.

condition seems miserable to him, and he finds no sweetness in it, until the man says, “I wish I forgot my past bliss so that I have no knowledge [of it].” Likewise, a believer is forced to forget the blessed state in which he was while in Paradise, and God refuses to remind it to him for the abovementioned reason.

[59] If a believer wants to die, God makes him into a body mixed with [other] bodies,¹¹²⁷ then places him as sperm into the loins of a man. The sperm is then deposited in a religiously permissible way in a woman’s womb, then it becomes a clotted mass, then a lump of flesh, then bones, flesh, veins, and the like. He remains in the womb in that condition.

[60] After it¹¹²⁸ remains in its place in the womb for forty days, God takes the soul of the believer, which is dressed in one of the veils of unbelief, doubt, and lie. He takes it to the nearest heaven,¹¹²⁹ to Paradise, in which there is a spring called the Spring of Life; he is [then] washed in it and is told, “you shall not die¹¹³⁰ in sub-human forms from now on.” He is then immersed in it, the veil of unbelief is washed away,¹¹³¹ and six veils in six bodies then remain with him, but his luminous body, which is in the first heaven, in Paradise, is not [washed away].¹¹³²

[61] The souls have a tree above that spring, with couches near its trunk; he [i.e. the believer] leans upon them, fans himself, and forgets the distress that has befallen him in that world.¹¹³³ When the fortieth day comes, God substitutes the body with a different form during these forty days; he has said, “We appointed thirty nights for Moses, then added ten more: the term set by his

¹¹²⁷ Perhaps this refers to the shapeless state of the body after it has decomposed following the believer’s death, where it may mix with other decomposed bodies.

¹¹²⁸ In this and the following two sentences, the author refers to both “the believer” (مؤمن, masculine) and to his “soul” (روح, feminine), interchangeably using the third person masculine and feminine pronouns for both—in ways that are not always consistent.

¹¹²⁹ The end of the same paragraph also mentions that the nearest/first heaven is Paradise; cf. also pars. 23, 62.

¹¹³⁰ The original has it with an imperative, “do not die.”

¹¹³¹ The Arabic فَيَدْهَبُ فِيهِ, “goes in it,” might mean that the veil is washed while he is in the Spring, “it” referring to the Spring. However, فِيهِ could also be a scribal error for عَنْهُ, meaning “from him.”

¹¹³² A syntactically more plausible translation would be, “but the luminous body, which is in the first heaven, is not in Paradise” (where لَيْسَ “is not” would refer to فِي الْجَنَّةِ “in Paradise”). However, more fitting with the overall context—if syntactically more stretched—would be to look at لَيْسَ as going back to “is washed away.”

¹¹³³ The author uses تِلْكَ “that” probably to refer to the material world, which is not where the souls and the spring and the tree are.

Lord was completed in forty nights."¹¹³⁴ These are the forty during which the soul becomes rid of the body.

[62] And if at that time it becomes elevated toward God, the soul looks at the bliss that is in the second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh heavens, and wishes that God places it in [those] places where it had rejoiced. God then says: "My term has been completed, [so I cannot] place you in those abodes." Having seen the bliss that made it rejoice, the soul begins to despise the calamities of this world.

[63] It leaves Paradise fearful, yearning for the reward which it never received and for the heavenly abodes. It is [then] born in the second [heaven] just as it is born in the first, [and so forth], until it is born seven times and dwells in seven bodies. The seven veils are [then] washed away from it as it is washed in seven springs. Having done this, it fulfills its dues.

[64] All of this spans a thousand years in these seven bodies. They [undergo] transformation in order that the believer perceives them from beginning to end, [so that] he perceives their reward; and [so that] the unbeliever perceives the issue from beginning to end, and that he perceives [its] suffering. The big cycle is 900,000,000,000 and 7,000 and 200,000, and the small cycle is 360,000 and¹¹³⁵ 1520,000 [years].

[65] As for the birth of an unbeliever, God makes his body, then mixes it and makes it into seed in the loins of a man, and inserts it into the womb of a woman only in an unlawful way. This is the [main] feature of semen and sexual intercourse, for a believer is only [born] lawfully, and the unbeliever only unlawfully.¹¹³⁶ The semen then enters the womb of a woman who is unlawful for the unbeliever's soul to enter¹¹³⁷—the seed which He wants to make into a body for him¹¹³⁸ [i.e. the unbeliever].

¹¹³⁴ Cor 7, 142.

¹¹³⁵ The meaning of *يكون* is unclear, and the confusion of numbers seems to be due to a scribal error; cf. the description of a cycle, called with the term *دور* (as opposed to *كور*) in par. 26.

¹¹³⁶ The sentence, as it is, does not make much sense, and judging by the context, the meaning is most likely the following: "This [i.e. the way semen enters a woman's body] is the main feature of semen's relation to sexual intercourse: thus, a believer is only born in a way which is religiously lawful, and an unbeliever in a way which is unlawful." The Arabic *لان* "because," which seems to imply a causal relationship between the two parts of the sentence, is simply used to connect them and the second part simply explains the first.

¹¹³⁷ In this context, *خروج* means "to proceed," rather than "to exit."

¹¹³⁸ The personal pronoun switches from feminine to masculine because initially it refers to the soul *نفس*, which is feminine, then to the unbeliever.

[66] He then places it in the abyss of the first earth, in one of the levels of suffering. In that abyss there is a spring, and above that spring a tree. He is immersed in that spring, and the veil of belief is washed away from him, leaving him with six veils and six bodies. He suffers in that level for forty days, until the seed becomes a clotted mass.

[67] The angels then carry him to the womb and imprison him in it, and feces and urine become his food and drink. He remains in the womb for nine months minus forty days, then an angel comes to him during his birth and slows him down, so [the unbeliever] comes out perplexed, screaming and weeping.

[68] This, because he imagines that the angel wants to return him to his suffering of forty days. Then he falls out and his soul becomes pacified and returns to him; so while still a child, he is entertained by pretty objects in order to forget his prior distress, for if he remembers it, he will not enjoy anything of this world.

[69] The [...] ¹¹³⁹ are [eventually] severed, and the unbeliever thus forgets. Six deaths, six bodies, and six veils remain for the unbeliever, and in each of his births the same thing happens to him, until the six bodies, six veils, and human births are lifted from him. All of this [takes place] in one thousand years, then he enters transformation—and we seek protection with God from His suffering!

This was about the births of the believer and the unbeliever, and about the cause of metamorphosis.

¹¹³⁹ The original seems to be corrupted; **مناكح**, mostly used in plural, but sometimes in its singular form **منكح**, means “women, wives” (see Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. **نكح**), whereas the form **مناسل** is not attested in any of the major lexica.